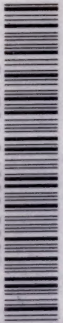


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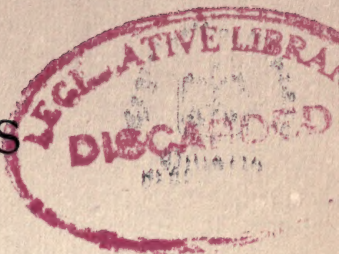
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JOURNALS
OF
FIELD-MARSHAL COUNT *Gen*
VON BLUMENTHAL
FOR
1866 AND 1870-71

EDITED BY
COUNT ALBRECHT VON BLUMENTHAL

Translated by
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LONDON
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PREFACE

THE journals now published of the renowned Field-Marshal Count von Blumenthal, relating to the years 1866 and 1870-71, were written by him to serve as notes for further memoirs, as was also the autobiography which he commenced to write in 1848. They are thus only fragments, and do not claim to be in any way complete works.

Nevertheless, they are a guide to the characteristics of the Field-Marshal, and will be welcomed by his many admirers and friends as valuable records of those days.

The letter from His Majesty the Emperor Frederick will show how highly valued and appreciated were his services as Chief of the Staff and counsellor to His Majesty during the two campaigns.

ALBRECHT COUNT VON BLUMENTHAL.

LIST OF MAPS

	PAGE
THE THEATRE OF WAR IN BOHEMIA IN 1866 - -	6
PARIS AND NEIGHBOURHOOD IN 1870-71 - - -	135
THEATRE OF OPERATIONS ROUND PARIS - - -	209
PORTRAIT OF THE AUTHOR IN 1866 - -	<i>Frontispiece</i>
PORTRAIT OF THE AUTHOR IN 1870 -	<i>To face page 74</i>

CONTENTS

	PAGE
PREFACE - - - - -	v
INTRODUCTION TO JOURNAL OF 1866 - - - - -	1
THE JOURNAL OF 1866 - - - - -	7
INTRODUCTION TO JOURNAL OF 1870-71 - - - - -	69
THE JOURNAL OF 1870-71 - - - - -	74
APPENDIX I. - - - - -	341
APPENDIX II. - - - - -	343

INTRODUCTION TO THE JOURNAL OF 1866

WITHOUT discussing the events, political or military, which led up to the invasion of Bohemia in 1866, the translator of this journal hopes to enhance the pleasure of the reader by recalling to his mind, in short narrative form, the principal phases of the military situation during the war.

It will be remembered that in the middle of May, 1866, Feldzeugmeister Count von Benedek, the Commander-in-Chief of the northern Austrian Army (the southern, under Archduke Albrecht, being occupied with the Italians in Piedmont), had taken up his command at Olmütz, in Moravia, there to organize the force which, very much against Benedek's will, the Emperor Franz Joseph had entrusted to his leadership.

As soon as war became inevitable, Moltke, the actual Commander-in-Chief of the Prussian forces, proposed an energetic forward movement with the greater part of his army into Bohemia, making use of the gap between the Iron and the Giant Mountains (Erz and Riesengebirge) as the main highway of invasion.

The King of Prussia, however, William I. (the so-called William the Great), showed great nervousness about his capital, and a dread that it should be occupied by the Austrians, and to this added a great dislike of being considered the aggressor in the war. The King's vacillation, reminding one as it does of his father's weakness in 1813, and of his own indecision in 1859, tied Moltke's hands and produced that defensive-offensive policy of which, as we shall see, Blumenthal so much complains at the outset of the campaign.

The concentration of Austria's main army in Moravia having been duly reported at Prussian headquarters, the inference was formed, and, under the circumstances just narrated, acted upon, that Austria intended to invade Prussia over its Silesian border.

Two Army Corps, the Fifth and Sixth, under the command of the Crown Prince of Prussia, afterwards the Emperor Frederick, with Count von Blumenthal as Chief of the Staff, had been detailed for the protection of this portion of Prussia's dominions. To this force were now added the First Army Corps and the Corps of Guards, the whole being formed into what was called the Second Army.

The Prussian forces thus found themselves divided into two separate main bodies, one concentrated round Görlitz, the second in the neighbourhood of Hirschberg in Silesia—a situation strategically unfavourable to success, as Moltke well appreciated. In the fact of Austria's unpreparedness for war, however, lay Moltke's salvation. Benedek, rightly appreciating the state of affairs, determined to strike, and for this purpose gave orders on June 19th for a forward move of the whole army on Josephstadt in Bohemia, selecting this town as the point to which all the principal roads into Silesia converge. The Saxon Army, under the late King Albert, then Crown Prince of Saxony, having declared for Austria, had been ordered to fall back from its capital, Dresden, on the main body of the Austrians, and to cover this movement the Army Corps of Count Clam Gallas in Bohemia had been reinforced to the extent of 180,000, and pushed up towards the Iser.

The forward move of the Austrian main body on Josephstadt determined Moltke's next move. In order to frustrate any attempt to take him in detail, he determined to concentrate, *and to concentrate in the enemy's country.*

Selecting Gitschin as the objective for both armies, he gave orders for the First Army to commence its march on the 23rd, and the Second Army on the 27th, the First over the passes of the Iron Mountains, the Second over those of the Giant Mountains.

To deal with this turn of events, three alternatives suggested themselves to Benedek's advisers :

1. To occupy a central defensive position and await the onslaught.

2. To 'contain' the north-western invader, and crush the north-eastern on his debouching from the passes.

3. To crush the former while 'containing' the latter.

Of these three plans, the first was that more highly favoured by Krismanic, Benedek's Chief of the Staff, and the third that to which Benedek himself was more than wedded.

It may here be mentioned that the consensus of opinion among military writers, with but few exceptions—among the latter, however, a very important one, and one much studied of late years, General von Schlichting—inclines to the adoption of the second as that containing a greater probability of success than the others.

The weakness of Benedek's preference lay in the disadvantage he must suffer should any mishap befall his 'containing' factor, for then the Crown Prince would descend upon the communications with Vienna of his main army.

At the same time it must be remembered that the separation of Moltke's two forces was a great element of weakness for the Prussians, as Moltke himself acknowledged ; its justification, however, being (in Moltke's own words) that it would be impossible for the Austrians, *in so short a time*, to gain a *decided* advantage over either army without the other taking them in flank. This opinion is not, however, universally accepted.

On June 26th, therefore, Prince Frederick Charles arrived at the Iser River, the Crown Prince being still occupied in the passes of the Giant Mountains.

It was now Benedek's desire, by an immediate and rapid movement of the troops then at Josephstadt, viz., his Third and Fourth Army Corps, to crush Frederick Charles before the Crown Prince could come to his aid, meanwhile sending two other corps to 'contain' the latter, involved as he was in the mountain defiles.

By the advice of his Chief of the Staff, however (General Krismanic), he decided to wait at Josephstadt ; and it is to this delay that General von Schlichting, in his work 'Moltke and Benedek' (Berlin, 1900), attributes the failure of Austria's strategy, Krismanic's desire to fight a defensive battle in a central position being the key to this advice.

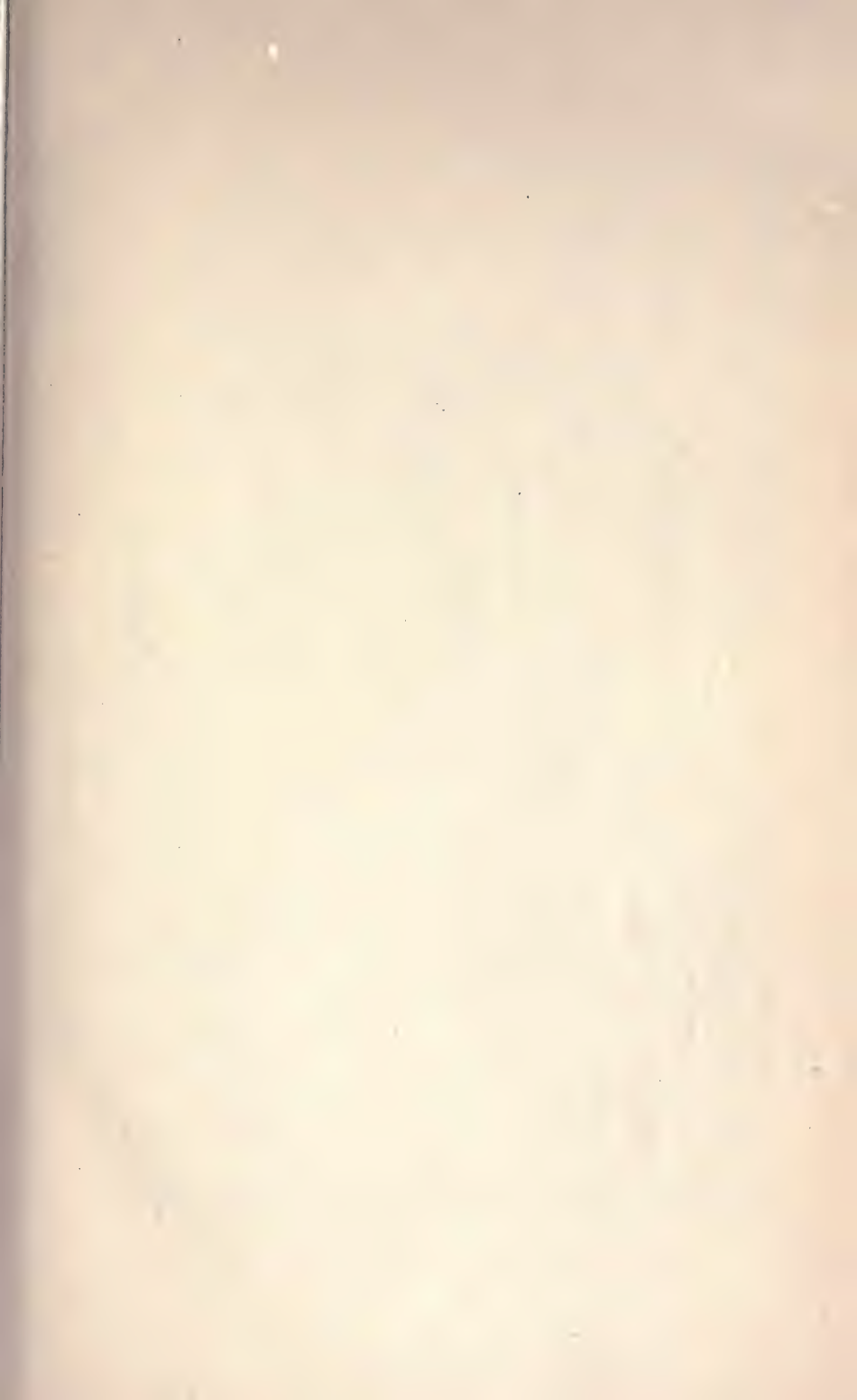
The Battles of Nachod and Trautenau, won by the Crown Prince on the 27th, and General Steinmetz' victorious advance, decided Austria's next move ; for, the futility of a rapid advance to the Iser being apparent, as well as the overwhelming superiority of the German weapon—the needle-rifle over the muzzle-loader—Benedek found himself committed involuntarily to a purely defensive battle practically on the ground where he stood.

With this view, he formed up his army on the 29th in a defensive position at Dubenitz, overlooking the Elbe.

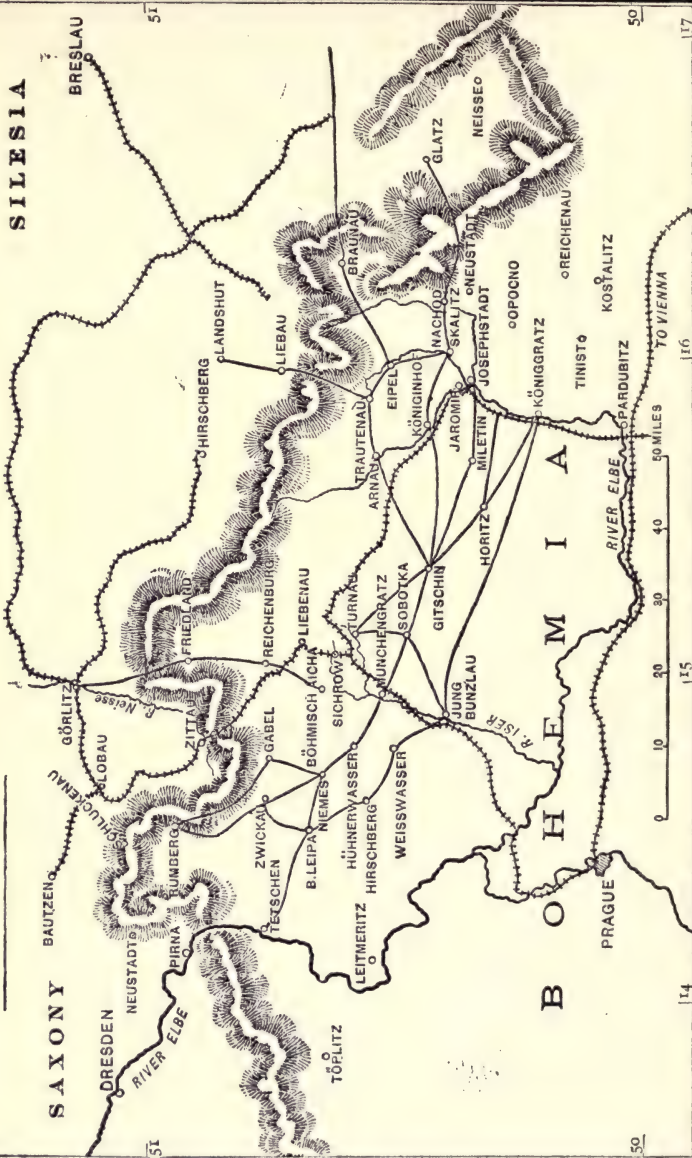
His next blow was the news of the defeat of Clam Gallas and his corps at Gitschin, and the retreat of the Saxons from the Iser. As will be seen from the map, these reverses would bring Prince Frederick Charles directly on his flank and rear, namely, by the roads Gitschin-Miletin and Gitschin-Horitz, and thus a retreat became imperative. A position north-west of Königgrätz, the Austrian right resting on Chlum, the left on Probus, with the village of Sadowa in front of the centre, was now taken up, making front to both the advancing armies of Prussia.

On July 3rd was fought the Battle of Königgrätz, or Sadowa, as the Prussians call it, which decided the fate of the campaign, and gave to Prussia the leading position in the German Confederation. The Austrians fled in the wildest confusion, the artillery and cavalry alone making heroic efforts to save the situation, but in vain ; and the army, being too shattered to rally in Bohemia, and too disorganized to make another stand in Austria, peace was declared within a month, thus ending the so-called Seven Weeks' War.

THE TRANSLATOR.



THE THEATRE OF THE WAR IN BOHEMIA IN 1866.



THE JOURNAL OF 1866

Deutz-am-Rhein, May 4.

THE situation looks so warlike that I shall soon have to be packing my war-kit. I will now begin my journal, although I have nothing to note down.

The political situation in Prussia is a very peculiar one, and one in which it is very hard to show what has been the true cause of all the confusion and misunderstanding.

The motive causes and the underlying principles are so deeply rooted in the historical development of Prussia and the evolution of Germany that it seems quite a matter of indifference who or what is driving the coach to destruction, or by whom the smash is to be brought about. Come it must. It is neither Schleswig-Holstein, nor Bismarck, nor Italy, neither is it due to our domestic relations ; but it is a combination of all these things together which is hurrying us to a crisis.

It is most interesting, however, to see how gradually and unexpectedly everything is happening, so that the most skilled diplomatist cannot foresee by more than eight days at the most what is going to happen. In the last four weeks everyone has been

crying out against Prince Bismarck, who has now become a sort of universal scapegoat. He was the 'most uncompromising of men,' and 'wanted war at all costs'; he was 'refusing compensation to Austria for Schleswig-Holstein'; and so on! In a word, he ought to be hanged, drawn, and quartered! Now that it is quite clear that Austria is the culprit, and is arming, too, so extensively, Bismarck is to be absolved, and will soon be *chaired* in triumph. Now Herr von Beust, in Dresden, is beginning to bear the sins of the multitude, and certainly he has all the appearance of being the motive power, driving both Saxony and Austria to arms.

To me personally it is not inconvenient that things should come to a crisis now. My family is in England for the moment, and I am so independent that at any moment I can pack up my kit and march. The necessary expenses of outfit, buying horses, etc., are rather alarming, and will reduce my small capital to the vanishing-point.

To-day I was going to Jülich to inspect the battalion there—my horses had even been sent on ahead—when I received a telegram to say that the enrolment of substitutes for military service was to be discontinued and the District Commandants were to occupy their official quarters, as the order for mobilization was about to be issued. I must now remain here and wait events.

Deutz, Saturday, May 5.

Yesterday the *Kölnische Zeitung* published an announcement that six Army Corps (not including,

however, the First, Seventh, or Eighth), as well as the whole of the cavalry and artillery of the army, were to be put on a war footing. This sort of news always gives me a cold shiver. On receiving it I jumped straight into bed and fell asleep at once !

Deutz, May 9.

Saturday evening the mobilization orders arrived for the Eighth Army Corps. I was awoke at eleven o'clock at night by the arrival of divisional orders, but turned into bed again at once, rolled over, and slept like a top. My Adjutant (capital chap, Von Beczwarzowsky!) worked out the whole thing, and I had no need to bother my head about it at all. The 6th of May was our first day of mobilization. On the 7th of May occurred the wicked attempt on Count Bismarck's life in Berlin.

Yesterday, the 8th of May, the mobilization orders for the First and the Seventh Army Corps were issued, and very probably for the Second Army Corps, too, so that now we shall soon see the whole army on its legs.

It is truly remarkable with what tenacity 'the man in the street' clings to the idea that there will be no war after all. Nobody wants it; in fact, they all dread it.

Things do not, however, always turn out as is wished; and now, even if Prussia and Austria both desired to avoid a war, the matter is no longer in their hands.

The Italians are so far forward with their war preparations that the enthusiasm of this excitable people will drive everything before it, and if the first shot is fired in Italy, who knows what it will lead to?

Deutz, May 13.

The last three days have been frightfully cold and wet. I have been reading up a lot of the newspapers, but am none the wiser. The whole of the Prussian Army, Landwehr included, with the exception of the Eighth Corps, is now mobilized. All the smaller States are likewise arming. Even Bavaria and Hanover are adopting a hostile mien towards Prussia; so that it looks as though only Mecklenberg, Oldenburg, Kurhessen, and Anhalt were not against us; but, at the same time, they are not for us by any means. This looks cheerful!

Prussia appears to have only Italy, and perhaps, France, on her side. The latter is certain not to help us actively, but will doubtless remain neutral. If, now, Austria decides to give back Venice to Italy, Prussia will have her work cut out.

Here in Cologne we see and hear nothing. The inhabitants, who think about nothing except beer-swilling and money-grubbing, are a most pusillanimous lot. They won't hear of war, and are all declaring for peace. Some houses have already lost large amounts in speculation, and are threatening to break. We hear of attempted suicides and such things daily. It must be indeed hard to tear one's self away from the mammon of lucre when once the idol has been set up! I go every evening to the mess (casino), where, according to our old traditions, politics are severely eschewed. Stocks, investments, and speculation form the chief subjects of conversation at present. Alas! the streets are full of drunken reservists and militiamen.

To-day I received an order which gave me the greatest joy. I am to go to Wetzlar on the 17th to take up the command of a brigade, or, rather, mixed force, consisting of the 28th and the 65th Infantry Regiments, the 8th Battalion of Rifles (Jägers), the 7th Hussars, and two batteries of Artillery. It seems to me that the appointment has been made in Berlin, so that I am not to be employed on the General Staff, but as Commander of an independent mixed force, and this suits me exactly.

I shall now sit in the Prussian Enclave, surrounded as it is by small States, and from which I hope I shall be able soon to break loose.

I wish I had been able to keep the 33rd Regiment. Now I have only Rheinlanders, who as soldiers are still untried.

Deutz, May 16.

Yesterday came the order, I am sorry to say, that my little force is not to go to Wetzlar. The whole of the Fifteenth Division is to concentrate here at Cologne. What it means is hard to tell—perhaps a demonstration against Hanover. We are here at a junction of many railway-lines. To-day there is a sort of notion of peace ; at least, many hope for it.

Yesterday stocks rose considerably, and to-day they are going still higher ; also a lot of gold has come into the market, and is offering at the small bank-rate of 5 thalers 24 silver groschen, instead of 5 thalers 27 groschen. Very likely they are only Stock Exchange tactics ; the rich Parisian Jews are in close relationship with the speculating

Emperor (Napoleon III.), and he seems to be manœuvring with them. The Oppenheims here, in close relationship with the Foulds in Paris, must have made enormous fortunes in the last few days.

My wife writes to me of a crowd of bankrupts in England which overtops everything of the sort previously heard of.

The air here is so cold still that here in my 'carpet bags' it is quite unpleasant. What a pity I did not get to Wetzlar; I should now be riding round in the beautiful beech woods.

All sorts of rumours of Bismarck's dismissal, and even of the King's abdication. The most impossible 'shaves' are flying about the town, and always find believers. Yesterday there was a leading article in the *Nord-Deutsch Allgemeine Zeitung* which was really too absurd. It said that if the Governments did not wish to join on the question of reform Prussia would be compelled to fall back on the people, and so carry it through. From an inspired journal like this it must be taken as an open threat that, rather than submit to the predominant State, a revolution will be set on foot.

Deutz, May 18.

At noon to-day I received a telegram telling me to pack up my traps, as I was to receive another appointment from the King. I wonder if it is to the staff of Prince Frederick Charles? I think not, for a man of his impatient temperament would have telegraphed for me long ago. Everything is the same to me; der Liebe Gott will give me strength

for whatever comes, and with a light heart I shall go wherever I am called.

According to telegrams from Paris and Vienna, they are trying to summon a Congress in order to settle the burning question before an outbreak of war, or, rather, to prevent war altogether. Prussia and Italy have, it appears, declared themselves willing, but Austria not.

Yesterday I made an attempt to calculate the numbers of troops on the opposing sides in Germany. I make out that if Austria has to leave 150,000 to 180,000 in face of the Italians, and the smaller States remain neutral, we shall not be much weaker than the Austrians. The fortune of war and the excellence of our troops will make up the difference. In the latter respect we are, taking it all round, considerably to the good. It is to be hoped that we shall not run short of ammunition.

Deutz, May 19.

Early yesterday I received my orders from the War Office while in bed. I am appointed Chief of the Staff to the Crown Prince's army. The King writes: 'I am showing my confidence in you in making this appointment. I trust that you will fulfil all my expectations' (May 17). God grant that I may do so. I am not deficient in the spirit or will. The position is exactly the one I should have most desired. The youthful buoyancy of the Crown Prince's nature suits me much more than the severe earnestness of Prince Frederick Charles. Light-heartedness is the spirit in which to go to battle.

Berlin, May 21.

Yesterday morning I arrived here, and until ten o'clock at night had to drive round, making my official calls. Here, too, there is a peaceful tone, and the King himself thinks that there may not be war. He was very bitter against the smaller States, who, if they would only declare themselves positively as neutral, hold peace or war in their hands. He said he could not understand them at all, for they had everything to lose by going to war. The King told me of his hopes for the success of his son, and that he had specially selected me to help him. He may count upon me to do all that lies in my power. Unfortunately, I do not feel myself very fit in health. A continual thirst troubles me, as formerly in Italy.

General von Moltke put me *au fait* with the situation, and appeared very pleased that I shared his views. It may all be summed up in this, that, if we are to fight Austria with our full strength, the nine Army Corps must be brought up and so disposed between Hall and Neisse that they can be rapidly concentrated. If the enemy lets us alone, the concentration will be finished by the 2nd of June.

But if we are not attacked by that date we must ourselves take the offensive, even though we make ourselves the aggressors, which the politicals so much deprecate. To remain stationary with 280,000 men is impossible. I hold with Moltke entirely in all this, but I cannot agree with him in thinking it right to leave a division in Upper Silesia, to drive back the weaker detachments opposed to it, and then in its

turn to retreat before superior forces on to the right bank of the Oder by Oppeln.

I would leave the whole of Silesia, even Breslau, unoccupied, in order to be strong for battle. We cannot hold Upper Silesia. The Crown Prince was most gracious, and told me quite plainly that he wanted General von Goeben himself, but now was very glad that it was I. I ought to know that he had formerly several times petitioned the King to appoint me his Adjutant. He made a most charming impression upon me, and appears to be entering upon the war in the most cheerful spirit, although he, too, would willingly see it avoided if possible.

Berlin, May 23.

Yesterday the Crown Prince came to the Palace, where the Staff is beginning to form. I cannot express the satisfaction which his joyous, frank bearing imparts. May his spirit ever be the same under all trials!

Berlin, May 24.

The situation appears to be unchanged. Do the Austrians want to gain time? At mid-day I was with the King, and in the evening with Count Bismarck, who told me all about the attempt on his life by Blind. His escape was truly marvellous. Out of six shots fired at him, only one struck, and that merely glanced off a rib, leaving nothing but a slight contusion.

May 25.

Yesterday we were at the christening of the Princess Victoria in the New Palace at Potsdam. The babe

was most restless, and made a peculiar impression upon me, as though we were beginning the campaign in tears. In the political situation there seems to be no change. On the contrary, in the Royal Family the tone seems to be more inclined for peace than ever. There were hints that we might have to wait some time longer before the outbreak came. To-day there is to be a conference of higher Generals (a so-called council of war), to which I am bidden.

Berlin, May 26.

Yesterday at eleven o'clock the council of war took place in the Palace of the King. The heads of all departments were present with their secretaries. Bismarck was also there. The King first explained the political-military position. Then General von Moltke read a memoir on the situation and on the strategical advance of the army. Voigts-Rhetz and others spoke, and last of all the War Minister. I remained silent, as I had nothing of moment to communicate. From what the King said, I could clearly see that he still clings to hopes of peace, but thinks that if it should come to war the Austrians will most likely march upon Berlin down the Elbe Valley. Voigts-Rhetz blamed the disposition of the forces, as being too greatly extended for the first forward movement, stretching as they do from Zeitz to Upper Silesia—a matter of sixty miles. General von Moltke justified it by reason of the improved means of transport, namely, the railroads, which alone make such an extension possible. In the successive marches onwards the columns can always be

brought into closer touch. The general opinion was that, instead of placing ourselves so close on the Elbe, we ought to have the main force at Görlitz, as an irruption was to be expected at that point. Count Bismarck also spoke, imparting his information with striking simplicity and clearness.

I found my suppositions confirmed. There is a certainty of neutrality on the part of France, and every hope of that of the smaller States, and even of Saxony. There is also the possibility, even at this hour, of a direct understanding with Austria, though this latter contingency is not probable.

At the end of the conference Count Bismarck read a report from Upper Silesia which appeared to be based on good information. According to this report, a considerable force of the enemy is concentrating in Upper Silesia, which betokens, according to my lights, that the Austrians, counting upon the moral effect of the conquest of Silesia, will make a forward movement through the passes of Waldenberg and Landeshut, and invade Upper Silesia at the same time. We cannot hinder this, situated as we are at present. The Second Army will have to fall back fighting to the north, and await the arrival of the First Army Corps and that of the First Army, in order to fight the great battle in Silesia, which I hope will see us victorious.

The main result of the conference was to make us all cognizant of the dispositions and the general situation. No actual decisions were come to. It is much to be hoped that the intention is to move off to the left the Eighth and Seventh Corps and the whole

of the First Army. The King ordered the Crown Prince not to move his headquarters as yet into Silesia.

Same evening.

Nothing new to-day. I received a letter from Burg, who has been in Italy, which very much interested me. It was from the Ambassador Usedom. He bids us beware of Louis Napoleon, who has not yet positively spoken out, and who certainly will demand some compensation for his neutrality. I do not think that. I heard also from Burg that the Italians intend to pass across to the Dalmatian coast, and thence make an irruption, under Garibaldi, over the frontiers, where the people are disaffected, and then to approach Italian Tyrol, where there is also much discontent. From there also there are good communications with Hungary, where a rebellion has been regularly organized among the best families, against the time when we shall gain a victory and cross the frontier. The Italians are cherishing the notion that in sixty days the House of Hapsburg will have ceased to reign. It will not be as bad as that ; but it is inconceivable that the Austrians, who must see their great danger, should not try to make some concessions so as to keep the peace.

The King and Crown Prince still appear to believe in the efficacy of a Congress, and do not think that hostilities will commence at once.

Berlin, May 30.

On Sunday evening I drove with the Prince and suite to Breslau. It was the Prince's desire to

encourage the people there by his presence, and to talk with the authorities and the Generals in command.

The following day we arrived, and had the whole day for interviews. At five o'clock there was a big dinner at the Castle. President von Oppeln and other magnates had expressed the wish that the Prince should come to Upper Silesia. We asked the King's permission by telegraph, and drove yesterday, the 29th, to Gleiwitz, where there was a great reception. Thence to Cosel, where the whole garrison, consisting entirely of Landwehr, was drawn up. The men were splendidly clad, and almost all equipped with arms, and the artillery horses superb.

The appearance of the soldiers was satisfactory, quiet, and orderly. I cannot, however, conceal from myself the impression made by their depressed and spiritless faces. Generally speaking, the tone of the whole country here is *piano*, as well it may be just before a war. In Gleiwitz were two squadrons and six Landwehr brigades.

It does not look as if Austria will give in at all. At last the Guard has received marching orders. The whole army is moving more to the left, in the direction of Görlitz, so that there will be some four Army Corps and the Seventh and Eighth at Torgau, on both sides of the Elbe. From Görlitz there are then only a few marches to Silesia.

The enemy appears still to be concentrating in South Silesia, namely, about Olmütz-Prerau, from which some conclude that he is taking Silesia as his objective. It appears to me, however, more probable

that he is not preparing to take the offensive—at least, not yet, as he has not finished his preparations.

In Gleiwitz the two squadrons were turned out by the ‘alarm’ sounding, and were in their places in twenty-three minutes, one of the outlying squadrons being in a village quite a mile away.

There was no important news of the Austrians: small irruptions on the frontier, to get supplies and such-like; otherwise all quiet.

For the first time we hear of troops being sent from Vienna to Krakau, *i.e.*, eastwards instead of westwards!

Berlin, June 1.

Yesterday the news was less pacific, and stocks have accordingly fallen. All hopes are centred upon the Peace Congress, which meets in Paris on the 5th.

In Gleiwitz there were two squadrons of the Second Landwehr Brigade, which, in conjunction with twenty-six Landwehr companies of the second *Ban*, are to wage a sort of guerilla warfare in Upper Silesia. Both regiments have superb horses, and will doubtless render a good account of themselves if they have time to drill. General Count Stolberg, full of zeal and *élan*, is to take command of these troops in Upper Silesia. I am not much in favour of this sort of warfare, for troops of this class are not worth much; but they are at the present moment a source of great comfort to the Silesians, whose country without them would now be at the enemy’s mercy.

Yesterday, by command, I went to see Prince

Frederick Charles, who took leave of me in a most gracious way.

My wife starts from England to-morrow, and I shall possibly see her once before the campaign.

Same evening.

This afternoon I was with General von Moltke, who communicated to me the information that the whole army would very likely be moved further eastwards, from which I gather that it is proposed to remain on the defensive rather than assume the offensive. This continual changing of plans is dreadful, and will jeopardize everything. It does not signify whether a thing can be better done, provided only that the plan adopted be adhered to.

I am afraid that General von Moltke is very much under the influence of others, and can come to no decided conclusion.

The King has at last consented to our moving the Prince's headquarters on the 4th to Fürstenstein, so that we may at last see our troops and the *terrain* we are to operate upon. I am afraid that the Crown Prince does not much like it, for he told me that the King had said that he should soon return to him and to his wife ! It is most desirable that he should throw off the controlling influences of his people and remain with his troops. From all I have heard, it is Voigts-Rhetz who counsels the move towards Silesia. That is all right for the defensive, but I cannot admire a man who tries to force his convictions upon others at the risk of jeopardizing everything. The operation itself is no great work of art, there are many roads

to the same goal ; the thing is to stick to the road chosen, unless obvious difficulties crop up. That another road may be better is no argument for leaving the present road. Otherwise things will surely go awry, and this feeling of insecurity communicates itself like an electric spark even to the lowest grades. When once the plan of campaign has been decided upon, nothing except the very weightiest objections should alter it.

Berlin, June 2.

To-day it looks again more warlike. Austria has called together the signatories in Holstein, and brought up the Schleswig-Holstein affair before the Confederation. She has thus broken the Gastein Convention. This must mean war, especially since Austria has withdrawn from the Conference. It is to be hoped that this will soon lead to some decisive attitude. The Crown Prince was much exercised about it, and said to me : ‘ Now we must play the thirteenth trump and make ourselves Emperor of Germany.’

I was quite perplexed over it, and only wish that he had the casting vote.

Now or never—this must be clear to everyone.

To-morrow and next day the Guard marches out.

Berlin, June 3.

This morning I was aroused early to read a telegram from the Crown Prince, saying that the Emperor (of Austria) was at the moment in Olmütz (incognito), and that an invasion by the Prussians was expected on the night of the 5th and 6th. The

forces at Olmütz, Brünn, Troppau, have increased, and strong reinforcements have been sent to Krakau.

To-day at 11.30 I am commanded with my Staff to meet the King, and at one o'clock the Crown Princess at the New Palace in Potsdam. How I am to do this the gods alone can tell!

Yesterday evening I saw General von Tresckow, who told me that the Crown Prince ought to endeavour to form volunteer rifle corps in Silesia. I do not like to throw cold water on the scheme, as every effort has to be made by us, but it is well known that I am adverse to all irregular troops, and hate this sort of foolery going on around the main army. I expect nothing from them but hindrances, because in all the operations one will have to be giving one's whole attention to them. Besides, there is no sort of enthusiasm in the country to encourage the idea. Tresckow also told me that General von Knobelsdorff's corps was not to be withdrawn from Upper Silesia without sanction of the King, who, however, would not go against our wishes in this respect.

That's a good beginning, and poor old Knobelsdorff is to be sacrificed.

Fürstenstein, June 6.

When we reported to the King on Sunday, he appeared to have abandoned all hopes of peace, as the Austrians seemed determined at all hazard to have war.

The King was very gracious in his manner to me, and told me that he looked upon me as a pillar of strength to his son, and so forth.

At one o'clock I reached the New Palace, Potsdam,

to present myself to the Crown Princess. She was very kind, and begged me to see that the Crown Prince did not on any account return to Berlin or Potsdam when once he had joined the army. I had always believed that it was she who kept him away from the front, and was accordingly astonished at finding her the heroine she is.

On Monday, the 4th, at ten o'clock, we travelled with the Staff, of which a portion had already gone ahead, to Castle Fürstenstein, near Freiberg, where we arrived after nine o'clock in the evening. The Castle, brilliantly lighted up, had quite a fairy-like aspect, and the hospitable reception of Prince Pless and his wife promise us a very pleasant sojourn.

On Tuesday, the 5th, I made a tour of inspection with the Crown Prince, in order to look at the troops of the Fifth Army Corps. I unfortunately got a severe chill from the damp and sitting still in my clothes wet to the skin. To-day I am so hoarse and feverish that I shall have to give up my intended tour of inspection of the Sixth Army Corps.

In politics there seems to have arrived a sort of lull. Moltke promised me on Sunday, in Berlin, that the Second Army should receive the addition of the Second Army Corps, and probably some further reinforcement. This corps marched in to Hirschberg and neighbourhood on the 9th, and now I am of opinion that we are strong enough to move forward on to the Neisse and cover the greater part of Silesia and Breslau. Major Verdy, who came in yesterday from headquarters, brought me the news that we are very likely to have in addition the Guard Corps. In

that case I shall have to handle some 120,000 to 130,000 men—no easy job. To what a height of dizziness cannot man attain! Personally I have never considered myself much of a General, and I am well assured that others think with me in this respect at least.

Fürstenstein, June 10.

I have now so much to do that I have hardly time to write up my diary. We have been a week in this lovely Castle, and it looks as though we were to stay here four or five days longer.

On Thursday we inspected the reserve of the Sixth Army Corps and the whole of the Fifth in their various billets. We dined at Kreppelhof, near Landshut, with Count Stolberg. It was at first fearfully hot, and then we got soaked by a thunderstorm. As I only got out of bed on Wednesday I was quite hoarse, and unable to accompany the party to the inspection of the Sixth Corps. In the evening the Prince went up to Berlin, and I was glad to have time to make up arrears of work. The news of the concentration of the Austrians on the frontier opposite Neisse is confirmed every moment. It is quite evident that we are to be attacked by five Austrian Army Corps and the cavalry. I have written to Moltke and told him that we ought to move forward on to the Neisse in order to cover Silesia and Breslau. He ought to send us another Army Corps.

All preparations for the advance were made on the 8th, and to-morrow we can put ourselves in motion. The Prince returned yesterday. We reviewed the cavalry and afterwards he approved the order of march.

A telegram from Moltke forbidding the advance, although he was *en rapport* with all my views on the subject. Such a movement, he says, must not take place without the sanction of the King. I dare say he may be right; but one thing I see, and that is, that we are not to be given a very free hand!

We wrote yesterday for permission from the King, and to-day came a telegram giving His Majesty's sanction.

We march off on the 12th. We are separating ourselves still further from the First Army at Görlitz, but I hope they will send us more troops, and give up the idea of moving the main bulk of our troops into Bohemia, where there are no troops of any importance. We do not want to grab land, but to whip the enemy. At the present we have on the Neisse, perhaps, only about 80,000, against 160,000; but if the Austrians only leave us alone for another week, we shall be better off. We ought to have at least three Army Corps here to be quite sure of victory.

Fürstenstein, June 11.

To-day I am in good spirits, for a telegram is to hand, saying that an officer of the Guard will come in to-morrow to make arrangements. From this I gather that the Guard Corps will soon be here. Our many letters have now resulted in our being allowed to advance to cover Silesia. We shall then draw the whole of the Prussian Army after us. How strangely it has all come about! Next week we shall have 110,000 men, and later more still. To-morrow the troops march southwards.

Fürstenstein, June 12.

The news that has come in to-day, as well as that of yesterday, shows that the Austrians are concentrating in the county of Glatz, and at the same time are sending their troops from Krakau by train in this direction. This means that they are to come by the shortest route to Breslau. It is to be hoped that we shall not be too late in arriving on the Neisse. We require some time to concentrate, for we are only just on the march.

Fürstenstein, June 13.

All yesterday the troops were on the march in this frightful heat. According to the newspapers, the Austrians have been pushed out of Holstein and quitted the country.

The Austrian Ambassador leaves Berlin to-day for Vienna. To-morrow Austria brings the mobilization of the Confederation contingent into play in Frankfort, to levy execution against Prussia.

The day after to-morrow we shall have the declaration of war. Two or three days' grace will be very acceptable to me, so that we may reach the Neisse intact. I think we shall manage it. To-morrow we travel to Glatz and Neisse.

Neisse, June 15.

Yesterday we drove from beautiful, hospitable Fürstenstein, and travelled by train through Frankenstein, then by carriage to Glatz, where we visited the fortifications. The *moral* of the troops was good and patriotic, and the fortress in good state of defence ;

but it requires a fortnight or three weeks, perhaps, to complete its works. In the afternoon by Castle Camenz to Neisse. Here we found a telegram to the effect that the Confederation in Frankfort had executed the decree of the Confederation against Prussia, and that Prussia had declared the Confederation dissolved. This will bring about war, however pacific our King may be. The difficult point will be not so much here as in Germany proper.

I have given up all hopes of Austria attacking us here. It is a great pity, for in three days we shall stand 130,000 strong (according to field-states), and in a most favourable position. It is remarkable that no important letters have come in to-day, and we might be, so to speak, absolutely at peace, had not the cantonments south of this been called out to repel, as they thought, a raiding-party.

Now, too, the general march (tattoo) is beaten at nine o'clock, as though we were in the presence of the enemy. Unfortunately, I have a severe sore throat.

Neisse, June 17.

Yesterday the news arrived of Falkenstein's irruption and of Manteuffel's march into Hanover; also that the First Army had reached Lobau. The dance is beginning! I do not think for a moment that we shall be attacked here—certainly not at present—until Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Darmstadt, and Nassau have finished mobilizing. If only we are able to make political capital of this delay, and dry-nurse some of these little ones! I hope we have now heard the last of our invading Austria! Yesterday,

in spite of the great heat, I made a reconnaissance and satisfied myself about the strength of our position behind the Neisse. We can only hope that the enemy will be foolish enough to attack us.

Neisse, June 18, evening.

In the forenoon, in company with the Crown Prince, I reconnoitred our position as far as Rothhaus, and found it so strong that the enemy, who is equally aware of the strength of the position, would not dare to attack us. To-morrow I reconnoitre as far as Ottmachau and Patchkau, to see the state of affairs there.

On returning from our ride, we got news of the advance into Saxony and Hanover; also the sad tidings that Prince Sigismund, to whom the Prince was so devoted, had died in Potsdam.

This was a hard blow, and the Prince has taken it so bravely and quietly, feeling it terribly, however. My heart has been deeply touched. I could not help thinking of my own little Heine,* and felt quite ashamed of my weakness.

There came also a telegram through Wolf's Bureau, giving Italy's declaration of war with Austria, the former being led to do so by the fact that Austria consented to the decree of the Confederation against Prussia, and undertook its execution in company with Bavaria. What an extraordinary relationship, and how useless to Italy is her friendship for Austria!

This evening came the news that the Queen is coming here.

* The Field-Marshal's youngest son, who died when a child.

As the Austrian Second Army Corps seems really to have advanced to Bohemia, we have now only five Army Corps on our hands, which still in part are remaining round Olmütz ; and as Austria wishes still to gain time, we can expect to be left alone. Yet it is quite possible that we may take the offensive, and then the struggle will begin in Saxony or in Bohemia. It will be the task of the First Army and that of General Herwarth to break up the Austrian Army in Bohemia before it can be supported by the Bavarians, who cannot completely mobilize before at least fourteen days. It has all been very cleverly managed by Prince Bismarck, and if he is allowed a free hand the happiest outcome is to be expected. How strange it is that now Bismarck has to crush the smaller principalities in order to protect his Fatherland against an external foe which is plotting its destruction !

Neisse, June 20.

Yesterday I made a reconnaissance with the Prince of Hohenzollern and others of the ground about Ottmachau, and found the Neisse splendidly adapted to that system of defence in which the enemy is allowed to cross, and is then hurled back into the stream. There is a fine field of fire for the needle-gun, and many excellent positions for rifled artillery in large batteries. It was again fearfully hot.

At mid-day came a telegram in cipher from Moltke saying that the Austrians had detached strong forces from here to Bohemia, that Prince Frederick and General von Herwarth are to take the offensive at once, and that we are to support him. The First

Army Corps is to be put in motion at once for Landshut, and the remainder of the army, leaving one corps behind on the Neisse, is to be so disposed near Reichenstein and Frankenstein that, if desired, it can either be marched upon Landshut or go to meet the enemy on the Neisse, or, thirdly, make an offensive movement through the county of Glatz.

I am quite in accord with this plan. I do not, however, consider it necessary that we should unite with Prince Frederick Charles on the battlefield, as he is strong enough to do without us.

I do, however, think it right that, if he invades forthwith, he should have Herwarth on his right flank, and the First Army Corps on his left, coming in from the direction of Waldenberg and Trautenau, and that he should thus seek battle. If the Austrians retreat, we shall have time to unite with him from Braunau, etc., and if they accept battle, then, coming in, as we shall, from the direction of Glatz County, we shall strike him in flank and rear. Rapidity is now the essential factor; the Austrians, who have not yet completed their concentration, must be beaten, and then Bavaria and Wurtemberg will receive their punishment. The Prince must conquer, and we must profit by his victory.

Silesia will remain somewhat exposed, but that cannot be helped. Yesterday we received by telegram (Wolf's Bureau) the splendid Proclamation of the King, which will certainly have great effect. At a quarter past four we were presented to the Queen, who had made a great effort to come here to bid adieu to her son.

From Germany astonishing news regarding our progress in Hanover, Kuehessen and Saxony.

This morning Lieutenant Veith arrived with a despatch from Moltke which confirmed this news. It gave us a lot of work to make out the order of march, etc., and Major von der Burg was sent across at five o'clock to Görlitz to find out what were Prince Frederick Charles's intentions, so that we might conform to them.

The Sixth Army Corps will make a forward movement a short way to-morrow to hoodwink the enemy.

Yesterday we received the Proclamation of the Emperor of Austria. Still there is no declaration of war. They seem to be holding it back to gain time. It is to be hoped that we shall not give it them.

Neisse, June 22.

Yesterday evening we received a communication from Prince Bismarck through an orderly, with the draft of a letter addressed to the Austrian Commander who is now opposed to us, *vis-à-vis*, in which he was told that, according to information from Frankfurt, hostilities were just going to begin. So we are to have no declaration of war after all !

To-day a similar communication came in from Ratisbon and Gleiwitz. Yesterday we rode to Ottmachau and surveyed the wondrous view of the country as seen from the tower. On our return I felt extremely tired, and not at all well.

After dinner I pored over the maps until my poor eyes streamed. To-day I have remained at home,

squared up the details of our advance, had an interview with the officers of the General Staff, and worked out the order of march. There was a terrible lot to do. At two o'clock I was able to take it to the Prince; it was then polished up and a communication sent to Moltke and the King.

As Major Burg came back at half-past ten from Görlitz, where Prince Frederick Charles is, we knew that our arrangements were in accord with his plans. At three o'clock a cipher message came in from General Moltke, directing us to carry out all that we had planned. A good omen! At the same time I cannot conceal from myself the fact that our march over the mountains is a most critical operation and open to failure. It is, however, necessary if we do not wish to lose time.

Camenz, June 23.

To-day Headquarters made its march to the right, and took up billets in the beautiful Castle Camenz, belonging to Prince Albert of Saxony. Shortly after our arrival the news arrived that the Austrians had crossed the frontier at three points, had penetrated into the county, and at twelve o'clock had reached Mittelwald. This can only be a reconnaissance, or a demonstration, perhaps, to hinder our advance, or perhaps only a raid. I have informed the Corps Commanders. In consequence of this report the Fifth Corps has been concentrated by divisions in bivouac at Reichenstein and Glatz. My heart bleeds for the men in this terrible weather. There will be much sickness, and, unfortunately, just before our

trying march over the mountains. However, we cannot help it; we must press forward and keep our promise to be on the 28th instant on the Elbe in the line Arnau-Königinhof. The Second Division of the Guard, which has remained so far behind, cannot have its day's halt to-morrow, but must march on to Neurode. They have asked to be allowed to do this themselves.

A telegram from Moltke saying that to-morrow we are to have a day's halt, and that we can move the Sixth Corps where we like.

I had hoped to see my brother Louis to-day. He must, poor fellow! be suffering all the hardships of the bivouac, and I feel greatly for him. He is most probably at Reichenstein.

Camenz, June 25.

Till now I have not closed my eyes, although I went to bed yesterday at nine o'clock. I discovered yesterday, after dinner, that when Steinmetz moves forward we shall be so exposed that we shall have no escort. If the Austrians know it, all they will have to do is to reach out and grab us! It is through my carelessness that my Prince has thus been brought into danger. This shall never happen again. I am awaiting daybreak in the greatest anxiety. The storm outside is frightful.

To-day has been a very hard day for me. I have had to write and dictate a mass of orders for to-morrow's march, and for the next four days also.

God grant that I have made no mistakes! Yesterday evening came a telegram that the Austrians are

in force near Nachod, and contemplating an incursion into Glatz County. I hope still that the Austrians are not yet ready, and that we shall forestall them.

Eckersdorf, 6 p.m.

This morning early we marched out of Camenz and moved into this beautiful country house belonging to Count Magnis. We expect to get the first view of the enemy to-morrow at Braunau. The resistance will be slight. The Guard shall win its spurs! The day after to-morrow the fight at Nachod will be a very different thing. Spies report 18,000 men, but I cannot credit it. Some important telegrams have just come in. The Hanoverians have capitulated, and the Italians have crossed the Mincio with ten divisions. Garibaldi is on the Stilfer Pass, and is moving forward on to Munich. This is quite what I had pictured, and yet it sounds strange enough.

The Crown Prince is always the same, always quiet and kind, and has a most genial influence upon us all.

Braunau, June 26.

To-day, in the most glorious weather, we set out, driving in a carriage, but took our horses at Tunchendorf and then through Braunau to Hutberg, with the First and Second Divisions of the Guard. Only a weak cavalry patrol of seventeen sabres was met at Hutberg. A patrol of the 3rd Uhlans of the Guard, twenty-two sabres strong, attacked it. Four men mortally wounded and one taken prisoner. Our

Uhlands behaved splendidly, and captured several horses. One horse of ours was killed.

It was fearfully hot, and we did not get back to our billets until two o'clock. There nothing was ready. To-morrow we hope to meet the enemy in earnest, very likely near Nachod, where Steinmetz shall get at him. I have ordered the two divisions of the Guard upon Politz to support him in the direction of Hronov. As the Second Division of the Guards had their knapsacks carried for them in the waggons, the road was frightfully encumbered, and there were many blocks and stoppages. The work was heavy, but all went cheerily and well. No news from Prince Frederick Charles. Nothing either from Steinmetz, who must by now have reached Slana.

Hronov, June 28.

Yesterday we fought for four hours at Nachod. The Fifth Army Corps was engaged, and drove the enemy back on Jaromir. We captured a standard of the Deutschmeisters, two colours, and six guns. It was with the Sixth Austrian Corps that we were engaged. It was a very hot day, and we were twelve hours on horseback.

The Crown Prince was very happy, and visited the wounded in hospital, conversing with everyone.

Our First Army Corps was engaged the whole day yesterday at Trautenau. The Guards gave no assistance, either to the right or to the left, but remained inactive in the middle.

Prausnitz, July 1.

We have gone through an eventful week, and have reached quite an epoch in the war. God was on our side, for without His help the task would have been too hard. The exertion and hardships were terrific, and I have had no time to write up my journal. Our march over the mountains was a most difficult undertaking, for the roads were few and in very indifferent condition.

Our Generals are, for the most part, lacking in war-experience, and the way in which they cling to peace traditions greatly increases difficulties. When several Army Corps have to move over hill and down dale, through narrow defiles, woods, and gorges, it should be well understood what care is necessary to prevent the march being hampered with baggage and supply waggons. These should all be left to follow well in rear, and the troops be made to subsist on provisions which each man can carry on his person, say for three days at least.

Pardubitz, July 6.

It has been almost impossible for me to keep my journal going, and I am afraid I shall have to give it up altogether. It is more than I can manage, especially when I am tired and weary. I will now make a brief recapitulation of the last few days. On the 27th there was the Battle of Nachod, fought by the Fifth Army Corps, and the Battle of Trautenau by the First.

On the 28th the action of Skalitz, fought by the

Fifth Corps, and that at Sohr and Burkersdorf by the Guards.

I was on the heights of Kosteletz with the Crown Prince, watching the fight as well as we could through the smoke, and we were enabled to send assistance to Steinmetz, our last reserve, the Guards Cavalry Brigade being launched to his support. In the evening all troops bivouacked ; I, however, managed to get under cover.

On the 29th to Trautenau, then to Prausnitz. The troops pushed forward to the Elbe. On the 30th a day's rest, and most acceptable it was. We were all in the highest spirits, for our junction with the army of Prince Frederick Charles was now assured, and we were soon to meet the enemy and give him a right good drubbing. On that day I rode with the Crown Prince to the Guards Corps and the Fifth Army Corps to congratulate Steinmetz on his glorious victories.

On the 1st of July we had to halt a day at Prausnitz, as it was our policy not to have to fight for the passage of the Elbe, since that would be opened to us automatically by the advance of Prince Frederick's army. The arrival of Count Häselar assured us of the presence of his army round Gitschin.

On the 2nd we received orders for an extraordinary disposition of the troops, according to which both armies were to reconnoitre in force on both banks of the Elbe. That was a little too strong, and I felt sure that they did not quite know what they were doing at headquarters, and were trying to gain time to think by ordering a reconnaissance in force. With

a matter of 250,000 men in hand, reconnaissances of this sort are sure to lead to our being beaten in detail.

At ten o'clock I jumped into my carriage, and in company with Verdy drove the twenty-eight miles through Miletin to Gitschin, to have a talk with the King and Moltke about it. I think I persuaded the latter both of the futility of reconnaissances in force and of the expediency of marching straight on Vienna after the first battle won, without looking to the right or to the left. I said straightforwardly to the King : 'Your Majesty should just lay your ruler on the map in a line between Gitschin and Vienna, draw your pencil along the ruler, and march straight along that line!' He laughed in his kindly way, and doubtless thought that I was not in earnest.

Headquarters was to me not an impressive experience. A crowd of long-faced loafers is always an odious sight, especially when they greet one in a sort of condescending manner, fancying themselves omniscient, and apportioning blame freely, in some cases either not knowing or not understanding the circumstances.

On the 3rd of July, at two o'clock in the morning, I returned to Königinhof from Gitschin, where I found the Staff already established. After I had waked up the Crown Prince, had told him everything, and turned into bed again, I was waked up myself by a messenger from Prince Frederick Charles, who wrote from the headquarters of the Second Army, that in carrying out his reconnaissance in force he had fallen into imminent danger, and prayed me to come to his

aid. I wrote down at once what the messenger had to say, and told him that the Prince could only have the cavalry and the First Corps to support him, for we needed the whole of the rest of our troops to support our own reconnaissance in force on the left bank of the Elbe.

At 4 a.m. Count Finkenstein arrived from Gitschin, with a written communication from Moltke, saying that four full Austrian Corps d'Armée were opposed to Prince Frederick Charles, and directing us to support him.

I immediately woke up the Crown Prince, and then dictated aloud to my Staff the orders for moving the whole of our army across the Elbe to the support of Prince Frederick Charles.

At five o'clock the orders were issued to corps, and at seven o'clock the whole of the troops were in motion. We rode after them at 7.30. It was very cold, but bracing. I had no feeling now of weariness, although the previous day I had driven fifty-six miles, had eaten hardly anything, and had only had a short hour's sleep from 5.30 to 6.30! The heavy atmosphere prevented our hearing the sound of cannon; but towards nine o'clock we saw the smoke of battle all the way from Horonowes along the heights to Sadowa, and had all the feeling that an important engagement was imminent, and pushed rapidly along in spite of the slippery condition of the roads. Upon the heights of Choteborek, where we arrived at about eleven o'clock, at the head of the Guards Corps, we could plainly see and judge, by the lines of smoke, the whole extent of the battlefield. The right wing of the Austrians

appeared to be resting on Horonowes. At first the Austrians seemed to be falling back, then again to be gaining ground. It was quite plain that the army of Prince Frederick Charles was engaged in a pitched battle with the whole of the Austrian forces. It was of the greatest importance for us now to engage them as quickly as possible, and by threatening their right flank and rear to make them relinquish their position. At once orders were given to increase the pace of the march. A tall single tree standing out on the horizon, a very prominent landmark, was given as the objective to march upon, and the columns directed upon it, the Guards to the right, and the Sixth Army Corps to the left. The First Army Corps, which, unfortunately, was still far in rear, was directed to fill up the gap between the two armies, and the Fifth Corps was to follow in rear of the Guards as a reserve.

Of the Cavalry Division nothing on earth was to be seen—it might almost have disappeared into the earth; and when severe strictures began to be passed on the leaders, I comforted myself with the reflection that it would turn up somewhere unexpectedly. However, nothing was ever seen of it, nor did it appear on the battlefield until about four o'clock in the evening.

Two of our Army Corps were now entering into the field of fire. Pressing steadily forwards, we soon saw how quickly the Sixth Corps gained ground on the left wing. Some of the enemy's batteries now appeared on the high ground by Horonowes; but they soon had to limber up and retire. The battle was now raging all along the line from Königgrätz to Sadowa, with

desperate fighting at the villages of Maslowed, Chlum, and Briza Rossnitz.

From the heights of Horonowes, at between two and three o'clock, we saw that the battle was won; but it was after five o'clock before the enemy ceased to hold isolated posts. Then they retreated in headlong flight towards Pardubitz.

I had sent on all my cavalry that I could lay hands on—some six regiments—and now at last appeared the reserve cavalry; but there was no Seydlitz in command!

The cavalry, which had been pushed forward to reach Pardubitz, remained somewhere in the neighbourhood of Stolper, and did nothing. We were now able to see over the whole terrible battle-field. The weather had become cold towards evening, but the air was clear.

The Crown Prince, who during the whole fight had showed himself perfectly cool and collected, cheerful and bright, rode now among the troops, praising and congratulating them, caring for the wounded, talking with all he could, and encouraging all.

Just before sunset, near the village of Rossnitz, and not far from the wood, after a long search we found the King. It was a touching and soul-stirring meeting between the father and his victorious son. The King embraced him affectionately, and afterwards shook me very warmly by the hand. The Prince said, 'I know to whom I owe the conduct of my army.' His words went straight to my heart, and the feeling of chill which the events of the day had caused quite disappeared. We received orders, alas! to remain on

the field for the next day. General von Herwarth was to take up the pursuit. I had hoped that our cavalry would have done that spontaneously, but here I was disappointed. Only General von Wnuck was followed up, as far, at least, as the tired horses allowed. It was quite dark, and nearly ten o'clock, when we arrived at our quarters in Horonowes after a very long ride.

The château had, of course, been turned into a hospital, and nearly 3,000 prisoners lay about in the court. We had to be content with an almost gutted public-house, where I found a room with a bedstead, and even a mattress, and there Stosch and I slept. There was absolutely nothing to eat, and if Herr von Notz had not bought a loaf of bread from a sutler for a thaler, we should have gone to bed supperless. Nevertheless, I slept like a top, but had to be up again early, as is my custom. On the 4th of July there was a great deal to do and much writing.

About mid-day, Lieutenant von Wrangel, of the Hussars of the Guard, came and informed us that he had been sent as parlementaire to the garrison of the fortress of Königgrätz to demand a surrender. They were quite inclined to capitulate. Major Burg was immediately despatched to arrange terms of surrender. He, unfortunately, gave them twenty-four hours to think it over.

General von Gablenz, of the Austrian Army, now came in, and drove to Horic to visit the King, and to ask for a three days' armistice. I prayed the Crown Prince to ride in at once, and, if possible, prevent the King in his too gracious kindness granting the

request. At Headquarters they had not the least idea what a pitiful condition the Austrians were in. They had no notion that we had captured 150 guns, and taken probably more than 20,000 prisoners.

On the 5th of July, the advance on Pardubitz was resumed. At Opatowitz we came upon a mill which the people had not quitted. Up to this, throughout Bohemia, we had found nothing but gutted and deserted villages.

On the 6th the army crossed the Elbe at Pardubitz, and bivouacked on this side of Olmütz. We got unusually good quarters in the town. The King also arrived with the Headquarters of the army, and I was able to speak with Moltke. I think they would have liked to make a halt, for the troops were on very short rations and seemed to want rest; but I pressed for an immediate advance, because time is all-important, and the enemy can make much more use of a respite than we.

Chrovstowitz, July 7.

To-day we are billeted in a beautiful château belonging to the family Thurn and Taxis. We move on to-morrow. The troops are fresh, in good spirits, and full of fight.

Hohenmauth, July 9.

Yesterday, at 5 a.m., I was awakened by the arrival of Field-Marshal von Gablenz and an Aide-de-Camp of the Emperor's, who were on their way to Pardubitz to interview the King and to beg for an armistice. The former was terribly exhausted,

and asked permission to speak with the Prince. The Prince received him at six o'clock, and as soon as they were gone we jumped into our carriage and drove off to Pardubitz, in order to avert the possibility of an armistice. We found at Headquarters that the importance of our successes was not yet appreciated; but there was no intention of granting the armistice. The requests, or, rather, the demands, of the Austrians were so impudent and so insulting that Gablenz was not received by the King at all, and, to our inexpressible joy, had to retire without his interview.

As we returned, one of our horses went dead lame, and so we did not reach the hospitable mansion of the Thurn and Taxis family until five o'clock; but then we sat down to a well-spread board, and enjoyed some excellent champagne from the Thurn and Taxis cellars. There we met Field-Marshal von Wrangel. Before sundown we reached this little town. Good quarters and good beds.

Steinmetz came upon the retreating enemy yesterday, and made nearly 100 prisoners. They are making no stand, but are in full flight; to-day we shall hear something more about it.

Leutomischel, July 9, Evening.

This morning early I had severe pains in the stomach. After we had spoken with General von Moltke we rode away, and as soon as we arrived home we heard that cholera had broken out. My trouble was not so bad as that, but the stomachache was no better, and gave me a very restless day.

The points of our columns have reached as far

as Zwittau and Landskron. They are in touch with the enemy, who, it appears, is now retreating, not on Olmütz, but on Brünn.

We are to continue the pursuit to-day; then we must really have a day's halt. Many of the divisions have now been in bivouac for fourteen days and more, and, especially in the First Army Corps, the troops are beginning to suffer from sickness.

I am quite curious to know whether the enemy will make any further stand against us before Vienna. He will try to attract the Army of Italy towards him, and possibly seek battle once more.

Mährisch-Trubau, July 12.

At ten o'clock in the morning I felt considerably better. The Crown Prince had some punch made for me, and insisted on my getting up and going for a drive. I sat in his carriage with Stosch, where we kept quite dry while all the others were wet to the skin. Owing to the summer rains, the road was like buttermilk.

After we had arrived in Mährisch-Trubau, the letters that had been captured in the post-office were brought to us. There were among them copies of Benedek's orders, which he had despatched from here on the 9th instant to Vienna. From the order of march which was found among these papers, it was evident that, after Königgrätz, all the troops, with the exception of the Tenth Corps (required in Vienna itself), had been directed to retreat on Olmütz, and they ought to have reached their destinations by the 11th. The Light

Cavalry Division (Second) had also gone to Olmütz, the rest of the cavalry to Brünn. There are, therefore, round Olmütz six Army Corps and the Saxons. The latter were here as lately as the 9th.

Several more stragglers were brought in as prisoners.

As the whole strength of the Austrian Army is grouped round Olmütz, it has appeared to me that the dispositions made by our Headquarter Staff for taking up a position before Olmütz, with the county of Glatz at our backs, is not only a highly risky proceeding for our army, but a particularly dangerous one for the army of Prince Frederick Charles, which is now involved in a determined advance on Vienna. If we remain at Hohenstadt the enemy can, almost unperceived, move down the left bank of the March River, unite with the Army of Italy, and defeat Prince Frederick Charles. Moreover, he can cross the March River wherever he likes, and take the Prince's army in flank and rear whilst the Army of Italy engages him in front. If, however, the Second Army were to take up its position south-west of Olmütz, somewhere near Prossnitz, we should at least be capable of detecting the withdrawal of the enemy, and of supporting Prince Frederick in good time, if necessary. At nine o'clock in the evening General von Moltke came in unexpectedly. I submitted this idea to him, but he turned a deaf ear. Instead of discussing the point with me, he began to find fault, saying that we 'had marched too slowly.'

I said nothing further on the subject, but left it to his good sense to reconsider the matter on his way home.

Yesterday I wrote a memoir on the subject of the Prossnitz position, and submitted it to the Crown Prince, who adopted it. Major Verdy was sent with it at eleven o'clock to Headquarters, and returned at five with the King's sanction.

The orders for the march were prepared and sent out at seven o'clock. I hope that on the 15th we shall be in the Prossnitz position.

Yesterday was a very hard day for me, for I was not only much disturbed in mind, but had a great deal of writing to do. Convinced that the position at Prossnitz is just the one to bring about peace, whilst that at Hohenstadt separates the two armies and exposes them to being cut in pieces in detail, my spirit was much perturbed.

Thank God the matter is now settled, and if we can manage to get safely into the Prossnitz position we shall at least have our right flank covered.

Konitz, July 15.

On Friday we went from Mährisch-Trubau to Opatowitz, a very large, comfortable one-storied castle belonging to Count Herrenstein. There was a small park to it. The castle was prettily and comfortably furnished, and proved a veritable haven of rest for us.

Nothing more to be seen of the enemy ; he has got right away.

Yesterday we came on here ; we are lodged in an old castle, but not at all a comfortable one. It was frightfully hot marching. Soon after our arrival we received news from the Cavalry Division, corroborated by reports of the inhabitants, that the

Austrians were moving strong columns from Olmütz to Prerau.

This is what I had expected. He is falling back from Olmütz on to Vienna, so as to make a stand once more before Vienna, and pretend that he has a serviceable army, and so hopes to make better terms of peace.

I at once moved the Sixth Corps and the Guard Corps on Brünn, where they will arrive to-morrow. The two other corps must remain before Olmütz for the present. To-day there is to be a great recon-naissance in force from Prossnitz through Tobitschau to Prerau, in order to fall on the enemy's columns on the march, to cut them in two, and break up the railway at Prerau. The troops engaged will be the Cavalry Division and an infantry brigade.

To-morrow most likely we shall see Headquarters in movement southwards, and doubtless this will bring about a battle in front of Vienna.

The 15th was a very hard day for me. After I had been working the whole morning, and, as I thought, had arranged everything ready for the movement, Captain Mischke, whom I had sent from Opatowitz to Brünn to speak with General von Moltke about our dispositions for the future, came in from Headquarters. During the morning Major Count Graben came in also from there. The dispositions which Moltke communicated to Mischke were absolutely incomprehensible in several points, and when I heard from Mischke that Moltke had several times broken out into reproaches about our slow rate of marching, I could contain myself no longer. Con-

sidering our almost superhuman exertions, this was most undeserved.

The Crown Prince was so vexed and annoyed at these reflections, so unjust and so uncalled for, that he spoke of handing in his resignation of the command, and thought seriously of doing so.

I did my best to calm him, but was myself most indignant. We immediately sent in General von Stosch, compasses in hand, to point out to Moltke his mistake, and if this did not satisfy him to go to the King and show how General von Moltke was to blame for having changed the direction of the march, after having first directed us upon Hohenstadt. Stosch drove away at five o'clock. I took a cup of tea with my Adjutants, and tried to sleep, but could not. During the afternoon we received information of the skirmishes of the 14th at Kralitz and the neighbourhood, and of the brilliant victory of the First Army Corps on the 15th, and its capture of sixteen guns and from four to five hundred prisoners.

Stosch was able to take this news with him to the King's Headquarters.

On the 16th I was awakened early to receive a communication from General Steinmetz. I gave my consent to his request, and placed a division of the First Army Corps at his disposal. At seven o'clock we rode out. It kept on raining and was very hot. Through a misunderstanding on the part of the First Corps the expedition only started in the afternoon.

We met a division of the Fifth Corps at Prossnitz, and the Crown Prince reviewed them, and afterwards visited their field hospital. We reached Prodlitz at

three o'clock in the afternoon. I was dead tired, but freshened up at once when Stosch returned and told me that General von Moltke had approved all that we had done.

The reconnaissance to Prerau took place, but there were no signs of the enemy.

Again to-day, the 17th, I have had a great deal of work. The enemy, it seems, has succeeded in drawing off from Olmütz to Pressburg and Vienna the greater part of his convoys; but, as he has to pass through Lundenberg, it is to be hoped that Prince Frederick Charles, who is in that neighbourhood with a large part of his army, will succeed in engaging him, unless he succeeds in escaping over the mountains to Komorn. It is a most critical position for him, and all the more so since the lesson he got yesterday, which must have at least taught him that we are on his heels.

Unfortunately, General von Bonin, acting on instructions which referred to another movement, left Prerau and placed himself at Weischowitz.

The Sixth Corps and the Guards push on to-morrow southwards, and the Fifth Corps likewise into the valley of the March River.

The King leaves Brünn to-morrow, and goes to Nikolsberg, so as to be nearer the centre of operations.

We wish to remain a day longer here, so as not to have to advance over the Austerlitz country yet. It is at present unoccupied.

In every respect I am greatly pleased with my Staff officers. The political news which General

von Stosch brought from the King's Headquarters has delighted me. The demands of Prussia are certainly a little strong, but the Emperor of the French makes no demur, and so there will be no difficulties from that quarter. Austria must and will conclude a treaty of peace, or else she is lost for ever. She certainly cannot count on her army for years to come.

Brünn, July 19.

As the enemy has entirely withdrawn from Olmütz, and we have received the order from General von Moltke, which was brought to me by an orderly on the 17th at eleven o'clock at night, to follow the First Army with the Sixth Corps and the Guards, and, furthermore, to press forward the Fifth down the valley of the March River, we decided not to march on to the field of Austerlitz, as we had wished, but to come on here.

We started out in our carriage at one o'clock in the day, and drove (the Staff either riding or driving) twenty-four miles in all. We arrived here about six o'clock in the evening; the others came in shortly before dark.

It made quite a striking impression upon us to be once more in a civilized town, with its shops, etc. In the so-called Landhaus, the residence of the Governor, we have splendid lodgings, and dined to-day regally at the expense of the town.

In spite of a thunderstorm, the heat is still frightful. There is no news of Prince Frederick Charles having fought a battle near Lundenberg. The enemy must

have got wind of his movements in good time, and have escaped over the mountains. I cannot say that I envy him his hurried march.

*The Archduke Albrecht's château,
Great Selowitz, July 20.*

Yesterday at twelve o'clock we quitted Brünn, and the Prince and I drove on here together. We had a frightful thunderstorm with hail. Rittmeister von Plotz came in from Headquarters at about eleven o'clock p.m., and we heard more about the charges Moltke was making against the Second Army of having marched too slowly. I was exceedingly vexed, and felt that I must have a court of inquiry to put an end, once for all, to this unjust accusation.

We cannot race up and down these hills. Our men are so worn that they have implored me to give them a day's rest. The Guards, Second Division, with the consent of the Prince of Wurtemberg, took one yesterday.

Before Olmütz the cholera has broken out severely, I am sorry to say.

Eisgrub, July 21.

At ten o'clock yesterday I drove with the Prince to Nikolsberg, as he wished to speak with the King and Bismarck. The King had written a secret despatch to the Crown Prince, in which he had stated that Austria, through the mediation of the French Ambassador, Benedetti, had declared herself prepared to leave the German Confederation, to allow protocols for a delimitation of the frontiers to be drawn out,

and to allow Prussia to assume the military leadership in North Germany.

The principal points in dispute are thus granted, and, if the King and Bismarck are only firm, peace ought soon to come—or, at least, an armistice.

The most difficult feature will be to limit the importance of the smaller States in favour of Prussia, or to let them disappear altogether. That, however, will be easy enough provided that our people are determined, and do not give way. Nikolsberg is a grand old castle of the Middle Ages, belonging to Count Mensdorff. I was extremely glad not to be obliged to take up my lodgings at the King's Headquarters.

We started at eight o'clock in the evening, and arrived here by moonlight. We hope to remain here some days, and, even if we have to advance on Vienna, we shall certainly not assault the town as long as the negotiations are proceeding.

Eisgrub, July 22.

At mid-day yesterday the King arrived here, to visit and look over the castle, and in the evening an order came from Moltke that from to-day hostilities were to be suspended. Major von Verdy has gone, with several officers of the General Staff and General Podbielsky, to the Russbach, near Vienna, in order to arrange a delimitation of the frontiers of operations during the armistice.

To-day the French Ambassador, Benedetti, was here, and informed the Crown Prince that Count Karolyi was soon coming to discuss affairs. He

thought that peace was now almost assured. Although it would be better for Prussia that we should fight another battle—say before Vienna—still, I am rejoiced at the prospects of peace, more especially on account of the wounded.

The cholera, too, which for the past eight days has been virulent in several districts, will claim many victims, as the troops are much worn with the hardships of the campaign, and are necessarily billeted in close quarters.

The exertions which our troops have made have been almost superhuman. Continuous forced marches over mountain and valley, in this intolerable heat, without a day's rest sometimes for a week at a time, and sometimes with scarcely bread to eat, is too much for human beings. Yesterday after breakfast the Crown Prince rode with Stosch to Nikolsberg. The Minister, Count Bismarck, had prayed him to do so. The peace preliminaries are going on smoothly, and would very likely have been concluded had not the King raised difficulties. He desires that Austria shall give up some territory, which she will not do unless it is in the form of war indemnity. It seems as though this were a point of honour with them both. At the same time, Austria has thrown over all her allies with the exception of Saxony—namely, Bavaria, Hanover, and Hesse. We shall receive compensation of about four millions, and the leading position in the North German Confederation.

It is wise to be content therewith, as foreign nations will not interfere, and Austria will be severed from the Confederation.

Count Stolberg was here yesterday evening, and told us all about the fight at Pressburg on the morning of the 22nd, in which the Eighth Division bore the brunt of the fighting and the 71st Regiment lost so heavily. Rohrscheidt and Hermann Petersdorf are dead, and many others wounded. I am very much opposed to these dashing but risky expeditions, and advised Stulpnagel not to undertake it some days ago. Still, it might have led to brilliant results had not the armistice intervened.

Eisgrub, July 26.

Yesterday, the 25th, a good deal of business was transacted, and the Crown Prince again summoned by Bismarck. The King appears to be inclined to yield a little in his demands. To-morrow I am going to Steinmetz at Felsberg.

Eisgrub, July 27.

The peace preliminaries were closed yesterday afternoon, and we are expecting the ratification to-day. I think that it will give universal joy. The campaign has been a short one, but the remembrance of that terrible scene on the battlefield of Königgrätz, and the almost unprecedented hardships borne by officers and men, make us all long for peace. We are enjoying relaxation now, which may, however, last until inaction becomes burdensome, or until some new aspect of affairs calls us once more to action.

It is remarkable to me that my own desire for rest in this campaign is not nearly so marked as in former ones. It may be that neither my troubles nor my exaltation have been so great in this one. In my

present position I have not so much to do, nor am I bothered with detail as formerly. When the peace preliminaries have been ratified, as they will doubtless be to-day, we shall be kept in Bohemia or Moravia until the middle or end of August, or until Austria has paid her indemnity. That will be dreadfully tedious, and to us a very distasteful sequel to the war. I wonder how matters are going in Germany, where there will be considerable resistance to the annexation of the smaller States? Like children, they will have to be made happy against their will.

Brünn, August 8.

I have again lost all interest in writing up my diary. I must now recapitulate.

On Saturday, the 28th of July, I was informed for the first time (it was when the King was inspecting us at Eisgrub) that a letter of mine which I had written to my wife from Trübau had fallen into the hands of the Austrians, and had been reproduced in many of the South German newspapers.

Certainly the letter was mine in substance, but it had been mistranslated from the English, in which language I had written, and, moreover, the sense had been intentionally perverted.

I should not have been much disturbed about it, only, unfortunately, Moltke had been somewhat roughly handled by me in it, and he is the last of men I should wish to pain, for I honour him exceedingly. It was very mortifying to me to have made myself a laughing-stock through this letter, and be represented to the world as a conceited ass. I can put up with this,

however, as I do not care one jot what people think of me ! To do my duty and fear nobody has always been my motto, and always will be until the end. The news of the ratification of the armistice and the peace preliminaries came in to-day.

July 29.

This morning my ill-fated letter was sent to me anonymously from Berlin in a cutting from the newspaper. I requested the Crown Prince to lay it before the King and Moltke. He did so in Nikolsberg. The King was highly amused and laughed heartily, but Moltke did not wish to read it. He said that it was addressed to my wife, and had not been intended for him. I should not have expected any other treatment from him, for I know full well what a perfect gentleman Moltke is.

The letter has been published and copied into the English and other newspapers. I think I am doing right in taking no notice whatever of it. You cannot handle pitch and not be defiled.

This evening we had the band, and some national dances performed by the peasants of Eisgrub.

I think Louis will pay me a visit to-day.

July 30.

My birthday ! The band played in the morning, and I received the congratulations of the officers and of the Crown Prince, who gave me his portrait in water-colours. It was a beautiful day. There was a band again in the afternoon, and dancing in the evening.

Some of the troops are to-day beginning their homeward march.

July 31.

To-day we leave our beautiful Eisgrub and go to live in Brünn, in a very nice comfortable palace belonging to an Archduke.

August 1.

Immediately after dinner the King arrived on his way back to Berlin. I spoke again to General von Moltke about my letter, and found him most amiable. In the evening the King took tea with the Crown Prince.

August 2.

To-morrow we drive to the neighbourhood of Wischau, where a review of the Fifth Corps is to be held. For the first time I found the Crown Prince very irritable and tetchy about trifles. Towards me, however, he is always kind. The King took lunch with the Prince. In the evening we all went into a beautiful tea-garden, where there was a band playing. The King came with us, and we all had tea there. The King told me that the Duke of Ujest was to go with him the next day to Berlin, and that I was to succeed him as Governor-General of Moravia. This was not particularly acceptable news, as I was just beginning to enjoy my spell of idleness.

August 3.

In the morning the King and the Crown Prince, with the Duke of Ujest and Staff, started for Berlin, and my work as Deputy-Governor began. As Captain Potz has been recalled to the Office, it looks as though

they were glad to get rid of the Duke, and that we are expected to put affairs on a proper footing.

August 4.

In order to work in harmony with the Government of Bohemia in the question of supplies for the troops, I sent our Commissary-General (Councillor Tollner) to Prague. The local Governor, Boche, came in to-day.

August 5.

This morning at eleven o'clock the local Governor was with me in the head-office. All that I said I weighed carefully, and we understood each other perfectly. Herr von Puttkammer, the Civil Commissary, was present.

August 6.

The reins of Government give me a great deal more to do than I had expected. I have to do a lot of talking, warn off place-seekers, propitiate others, and so on. I leave to Potz the entire control of army affairs, and see him for half an hour in the day about them. Time goes quickly enough, and, as the limit of our sojourn here is almost in sight, we can afford to put up with it.

August 7.

Tollner has come back from Prague, and now we can set to work to formulate some scheme with the Austrians with regard to provisioning the troops. In principle we are at one. The Austrians have undertaken to supply us entirely during the armistice, either through contractors or from their storehouses. They

cannot do both, as the country has been almost gutted; and we shall have to look after ourselves and depend on sutlers, and send in the bill afterwards to the Austrians.

The compensation in Bohemia to officers who have received no provisions is placed at so high a figure that I am quite ashamed of the sum, and certainly cannot allow it to pass here.

At mid-day we received news from a neighbouring village of an attempt, on the part of the inhabitants, to poison our troops with arsenic, and that ten gunners are dangerously ill from the effects. The chemical analysis of the oat-cakes showed large quantities of the poison. To-morrow we shall smoke out the robbers' nest!

August 8.

Landrath von Puttkammer drove to-day to Banitzka, where the inhabitants all fell on their knees before him. The poisoning has been confirmed.

An Austrian officer brought a letter from General John in Vienna. In the evening I had an interview with the local Governor. He is a very well-informed man, and we soon came to terms.

The poisoner has been caught by the inhabitants in the woods, and brought in. Proof is to hand, and the official inquiry already begun. In a couple of days I hope to be able to hang the fellow.

Captain Mischke, whom I had sent to Vienna on the 7th at the wish of the War Minister, to submit excuses for the Hungarian Legion, and to request that they might be allowed to proceed quietly to

Prussia, returned to-day, and spoke most highly of the bearing and efficiency of the officers.

I was glad to receive the news to-day that the legion under the command of Klapka had already arrived in Moravia, and had reported to the First Army Corps. It has already commenced its march to Silesia.

When the project of raising an irregular corps in Silesia and the formation of the Hungarian Legion was started, I am glad to say that I had nothing to do with either. The idea was always distasteful to me. With such a splendid army as ours, 300,000 strong, I cannot see what we wanted such troops for. And so I have always said.

Brünn, August 10.

The erection of barracks having canvas partitions between the rooms for typhus patients, which I ordered five days ago, is proceeding too slowly. I must give these fellows the spur! The inquiry, too, into the poisoning cases is not going as it should. Bismarck telegraphed to me that judgment and execution must be carried out as soon as possible. That, too, is my wish; but these perverters of justice, Philistines as they are, prevent me.

Brünn, August 11.

I hold a telegram saying that the Duke of Ujest is coming back to-day. I must at once record in writing the agenda which must be attended to. The principal matter is the agreement arrived at with the Austrians about the victualling of the troops. I wrote to the

War Minister on the 8th about it, but have got no answer.

I shall issue instructions in to-day's orders to the troops about it, which will settle the question, for I mean to conclude that the War Minister's silence gives consent.

I will accept the estimates for the compensation to officers in lieu of rations, extravagant though they be, in the same manner as Falkenstein in Bohemia has done, and then nobody, not even the War Minister himself, can reduce them.

The order shall be issued to the troops that the costs are to be paid. I arranged everything yesterday with the local Governor.

The cholera is diminishing, and the sick reports are visibly improving. I am troubled with a flow of blood to the head, and have to take a smart walk two or three times a day in the garden.

Brünn, August 12.

The Duke of Ujest came back yesterday, and now I am relieved of the responsibilities of vice-general-governorship. I only regret that I have not succeeded in hanging that miscreant. In Berlin they will try to make out that I had not the courage to carry out the execution. A drastic example is wanted, but I cannot sanction murder, and it is not my fault if the administration of justice is so lagging.

This morning I inspected the new barracks, and found the work so indifferent and so tardily executed that I boiled over with wrath, and gave the order that if to-morrow afternoon these barracks are not

ready, with all their fittings, I shall take their high school buildings for a hospital.

The Duke of Ujest had some misgivings about the prices paid for provisions, but I very soon laid them to rest.

August 13.

The barracks are ready. When one is in earnest and firm, one gets the best work done.

I took leave of the beautiful garden, but, alas! had to spend my whole day drafting orders, a work I always hate.

That scoundrel is not yet hanged!

August 14.

To-day we went by train about mid-day to Pardubitz. We whiled away the tedious journey by a game of whist.

My lodgings are most uncomfortable, and are almost on a par with the hardships which we have undergone during the war.

August 15.

In beautiful cool weather we arrived on the battlefield of Königgrätz and mounted our horses at Probus. A most interesting ride, and I am now quite clear about the circumstances of the battle. It is almost incredible that Benedek should not have perceived the advance of the Second Army, or, if he did, that he should have allowed us to come on.

In some parts of the battlefield there were still broken knapsacks, haversacks, and so on; in some places a pestilential stench.

August 16.

At six o'clock in the evening we arrived in Prague. On the way we amused ourselves with a game of whist. The discussion of peace stipulations drags out its weary length.

Prague, August 17.

The greater part of to-day has been spent in paying official calls.

Prince Frederick Charles is most kind and considerate towards me.

One meets with officers of every corps on the Island of Sophia, where there is constantly a band. Fast women are there also in numbers.

August 18.

The Emperor's birthday. Festival of the Riflemen. A portion of the Guards Corps marched in. One hears on all sides, from the numerous officers gathered together here, details of the fights, and many varied judgments upon the conduct thereof are passed.

Prague, August 19.

I dined with Prince Albert of Saxony in the Lobkowitz Palace. In the evening my brother Louis came here. The peace negotiations are proceeding but slowly, but peace is quite assured.

Lieutenant-Colonel Stiele has come here from Berlin with reference to them.

Prague, August 20.

I drove with Louis to the Hradchin, and bought a carriage. In the afternoon and evening we went on the Island of Sophia.

Prague, August 21.

This morning Louis went away. I dined with Prince Frederick Charles. It is thought that we shall have to stay here till the 2nd. Very hot. Heavy thunderstorm. A tedious day.

Prague, August 29.

Peace has now been declared some days ago, and every moment we are expecting to hear of the ratification.

To-morrow I hope to be in Dresden, and at two o'clock next morning in Berlin.

THE JOURNAL OF 1870-71



INTRODUCTION TO THE JOURNAL OF 1870-71

IT will be remembered that at the outbreak of the war of 1870 the frontier dividing Germany from France ran in a line from Luxembourg (Luxembourg, Belgium, and Switzerland being neutral States) to a point about ten miles south-east of Landau on the Rhine, thence to Basle, the Rhine itself between these two points constituting the boundary. The political situation, as well as a mistaken belief in France's preparedness for war—'down to the last gaiter button'—led the German Headquarters Staff to expect an invasion of German territory, and it was thought that in all probability a French army, based on Strassburg and Metz—these being fortresses of great strength—and having its right flank protected by the river, would cross the frontier somewhere about Carlsruhe and invade Rhenish Prussia. Such a movement, if successful, would, it was expected, sever Bavaria from her North German allies, and at least have the effect of neutralizing her army. The massing of French troops at Metz (150,000), at Strassburg (100,000), and at Chalons in support (50,000), clearly pointed to this as France's intention. To oppose such an irruption Germany had moved up her field armies to the neighbourhood of the frontier fortresses, Coblenz, Mainz, and Mannheim, with the intention of offering direct opposition to any incursion on that front of her dominions, and of protecting herself indirectly by threatening their communications should the French advance on the Danube or Main.

Thus we find the Germans divided into three armies, concentrating respectively on Cologne, on Coblenz and Mainz, and on Heidelberg, as centres.

The First Army was commanded by Steinmetz, its Army Corps occupying Cologne, Dusseldorf, Dusen, and Call.

The Second Army was commanded by Prince Frederick Charles—the ‘Red Prince’—and had its Army Corps concentrated round Coblenz, Mainz, and Mannheim.

The Third Army, under the command of the Crown Prince of Germany, with General Count von Blumenthal, the writer of this journal, as his Chief of the Staff, had its Army Corps, namely, the Fifth and Sixth Prussian Corps and the First and Second Bavarian Corps, gathered round Heidelberg, Bruchsal, and Landau.

The world's expectations were unfulfilled, for after a feeble demonstration at Saarlouis, where the Prince Imperial of France received his *baptême de feu*, the French, owing to their general unpreparedness for war, were driven back, and never again set foot on German soil.

The initiative now lay with the Germans. The problem to be solved was where to attack?

An advance over the Rhine, the three armies to concentrate on German soil near Call, offered many temptations. It would turn the Vosges Mountains—a formidable barrier—by threatening the defender's communications, and it would threaten the communications of both Metz and Strassburg with the capital.

There was, however, one important factor wanting—good railway communication with their bases of supply. This want had already been severely felt on that side, and had considerably delayed concentration. On the extreme left of their frontier the Vosges, the passes of which were all blocked by fortresses of no mean reputation, constituted a formidable military obstacle, to cross which would be no light undertaking.

The third alternative, an advance on the centre about Weissemburg, had neither of these objections; moreover, it happened

that the army concentrated in face of this portion of the frontier line, namely, the Third Army, was in a more complete state of military preparedness than either of the other two.

The old fort of Wissemburg could offer no serious resistance, and the retreat of the French would lay open the flank of the Vosges defences, and that of the general line of the French frontier, of which this fort stood at the salient angle. Hence the selection of this point for the invasion of France.

On August 4th Wissemburg fell, and the French were driven back on Woerth. Here MacMahon stood in a strong defensive position guarding the defiles of the Vosges, and protecting the Strassburg-Bitsche railway. Woerth is also the key to the Paris-Strassburg line of rail.

On August 6th the Third Army, in overwhelming strength, defeated MacMahon's force, and on the same day, at Spicheren, the First Army also drew blood.

From August 7th to 13th MacMahon retreated with the greater part of his force on Chalons.

Meanwhile Bazaine, with his 160,000 men, reinforced by General Canrobert's corps from Chalons, had formed up in a defensive position to the east of Metz.

The German forces were now moved as follows: First Army on Metz; Second Army on Pont-à-Mousson; Third Army on Nancy.

On August 14th Bazaine, finding himself in danger of being outflanked, withdraws to west of the Moselle; but his rear-guard is seriously attacked by the First Army before it can cross. Toul is summoned to surrender by the Third Army.

On the 15th Bazaine continues his retreat on Verdun. To intercept this movement the Second Army is now swung round, pivoting its right upon Metz. Thus brought to bay, Bazaine forms up facing south, on the line Mars-la-Tour-Gravelotte.

On the 16th occurred the Battles of Vionville, Rezonville, and Mars-la-Tour, resulting in the French being completely thrown off their line of retreat on Verdun.

On the 17th Bazaine makes a 'change of position right back'—his left on Jussy, his right on Roncourt, Gravelotte being an advanced post on his right centre.

On the 18th Bazaine is defeated at the Battle of Gravelotte, and makes good his retreat into Metz with the remnant of his army.

August 19th to 21st.—Seven Army Corps are now retained from the First and Second Army for the investment of Metz, whilst the remainder is formed into a Fourth Army, placed under the command of the Crown Prince Albert of Saxony, and called the Army of the Meuse.

August 25th.—On this date the Fourth Army had its Headquarters at Fleury; the Third Army at Ravigny, *en route* to Paris.

On the same day MacMahon was at Rethel. He had collected at Chalons the defeated corps from Woerth, Bitsche, and Weisseburg, and, taking with him the Corps d'Armée from Belfort, and a newly-formed Twelfth Corps, in all numbering about 120,000 men, had retired on Rheims, being coerced from Paris—the Emperor Napoleon's Headquarters being in his midst—to attempt the relief of Bazaine by a circular route northwards. Had he retired upon Paris—the proper strategical move—it was supposed that the Emperor would at once have been deposed and a republic established.

August 26th.—MacMahon's march was replied to as follows: The German Armies, echeloned as they were from the left and moving westwards, by a change of front northwards now became echeloned from the right, and owing to the relative geographical position of the two Armies this movement became possible without a crossing of the lines of communication.

It was intended that the Crown Prince of Saxony should hold the line of the Meuse, whilst the Crown Prince of Prussia severed MacMahon's communications with Paris.

August 29th.—MacMahon commences crossing the Meuse at Monzou. Being hard-pressed by both these armies, his army, in great disorder, moves down the Meuse to Sedan, thus abandoning all idea of helping Bazaine.

September 1st.—The Fourth Army being on the east bank, the Third Army on the west, the Fifth and Eleventh Corps, by crossing at Donchery and wheeling to their right, completed the circle round MacMahon.

September 3rd.—The Battle of Sedan and fall of the Empire.

September 4th.—The march on Paris was commenced, and on the 19th the investment of the city completed.

The remainder of the campaign centred now round Paris, French armies being formed by Faidherbe in the north, Chanzy at Orleans, and Bourbaki in the south-east, for the relief of the city.

The defeat of Chanzy at Orleans, and the victory of Werder over Bourbaki, whose forces were driven over the Swiss frontier, caused the Parisians to capitulate, and on the 1st of March the National Assembly at Bordeaux ratified the peace conditions and brought the war to a close.

THE TRANSLATOR.

THE JOURNAL OF 1870-71

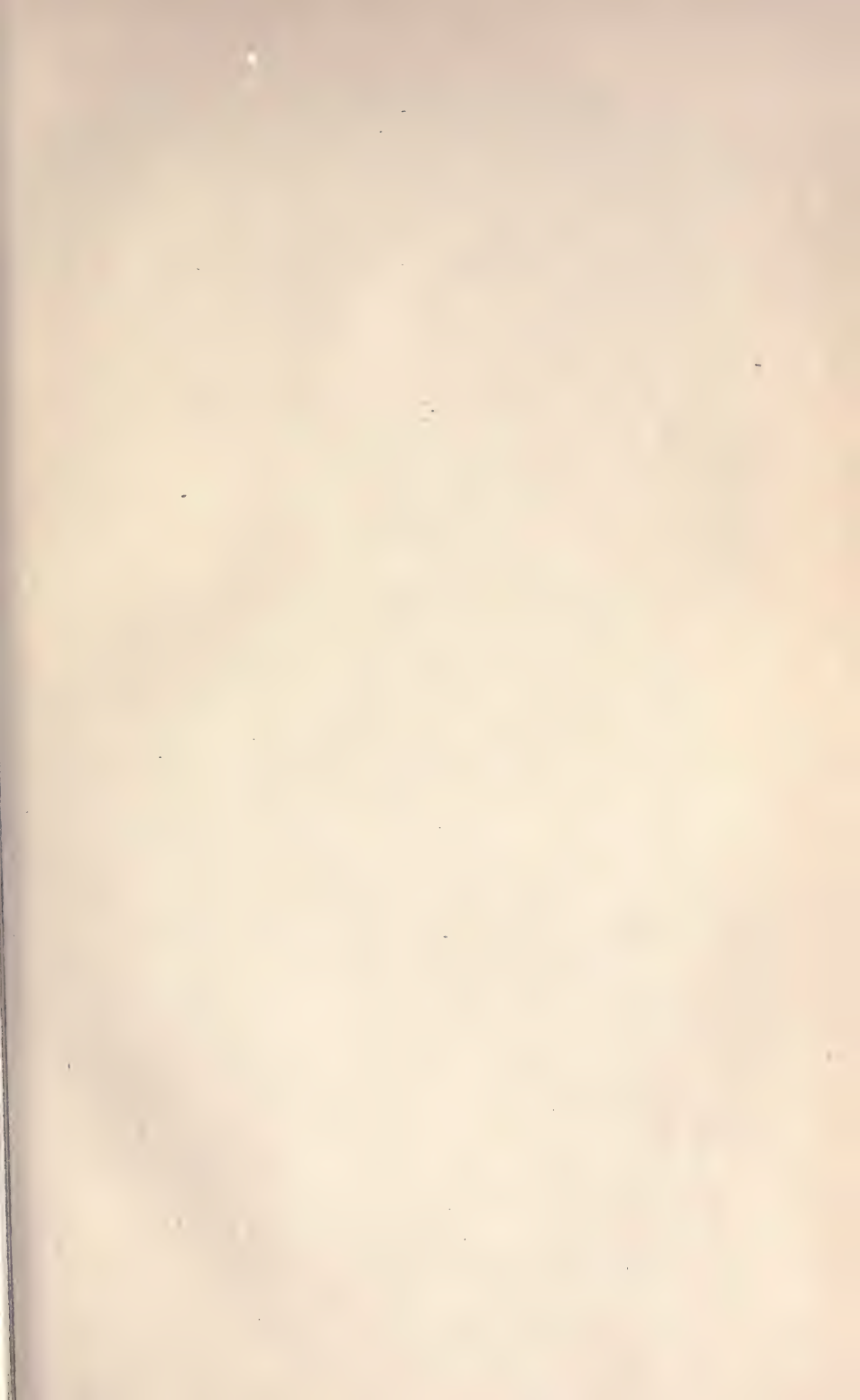
Berlin, July 21, 1870.

EVEN though I may be unable, from want of time, to keep my journal written up, I will at least make a commencement now, and jot down, so as to refresh my memory hereafter, such incidents as strike me.

General von Moltke in 1866 when we were in Nikolsberg together, said to me : ‘The quarrel with France must some day be fought out—it is unavoidable ; and though I shall not live to see it, you will.’ At that time I was convinced that the struggle was not far off.

Four years have now gone by ; we can perfectly well see that the Emperor of the French is unremittingly and earnestly making every preparation for war, but as the Luxembourg affair fell to pieces, and the Emperor is, by order of the plébiscite, apparently firmly seated upon the throne, we have allowed ourselves (at least in public) to doze, and have considered peace as assured. During this year, indeed, trade and commerce have made unprecedented strides.

When I was in Ems in July with His Majesty, everything lay in the deepest repose. Then suddenly the candidature of Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern to





COUNT VON BLUMENTHAL
1870

the throne of Spain was sprung upon us, and I was convinced as soon as I heard of it, when inspecting the 77th Regiment in Wesel, that war was at our gate.

Few would believe it, but it has all come to pass, as it were, stroke upon stroke, and no opportunity missed; and there can no longer be a shadow of doubt about it.

I went on the 12th with Major Hilgers on a Staff ride round Emmerich, and on the 14th to Cleve, where I found my wife.

We spent a couple of very beautiful days there in spite of the great heat. The newspapers were so war-like, and the general excitement so great, that Von Hilgers felt he must return to Düsseldorf.

On the morning of the 16th I received a telegram from the Crown Prince and the order for mobilization. We gave up our intended visit to Castle Moyland, the many Dutch visitors here being greatly excited, and at three o'clock we reached Düsseldorf by train, where we found Hilgers full of work.

The 16th was the first day of mobilization, and I began at once to pack up my war-kit, as I felt that I might be off at any minute. The enthusiasm of the people at the idea of a national war was immense, and in my office excitement ran high.

On the evening of the 18th I received a telegram from the Crown Prince, saying that I must go to Berlin at once. As, however, I was unable to quit my post without the King's leave, I asked the Crown Prince, by telegram, to arrange it for me. At half-past eight on the evening of the 19th I received two telegrams which brought me here.

On the 20th I bade good-bye to my wife and Mölendorff, and took my seat in a carriage with Count von Waldersee, who had just come from Paris. We were received at Potsdam Station by Herr von Schleinitz, and at a quarter to nine I was with the Crown Prince in the New Palace. He received me with that kindness which is his characteristic, and asked my advice whether, as future Commander of the Army of the South, he ought not to proceed at once to Munich, Stuttgart, and Carlsruhe, as Count Bismarck wished him to do on political grounds. He desired to take me with him.

I was, however, opposed to the notion, as the whole situation was too uncertain, and we should not have a reply ready if questions were asked. The journey was therefore postponed, and we shall most likely not go until the 26th. At half-past eleven o'clock I came here to the Hôtel d'Angleterre.

Berlin, July 22.

After I had established myself in the hotel here, I betook myself, in company with Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern (the subject of the dispute), to General von Moltke. General von Moltke was very kind in manner, and not so stiff as formerly.

He pointed out to me, when alone, the general situation, and explained to me the plan of campaign, in which I can only say that I thoroughly concur.

The creation of three armies and a reserve is the scheme, and when all is ready, and the troops concentrated, an advance through the Palatinate. General Steinmetz appears to me to have the pleasantest and

easiest task allotted, as long as the neutrality of Belgium and Luxembourg is respected by the French. He will, if God grants him health and life, have all the laurels.

The task of the Crown Prince as leader of the Army of the South will perhaps be the most difficult. In the opinion of most people and of the press, the French will break out into the Palatinate, and it is considered that their operations against the southern States will be only secondary. I hold, however, that it is quite possible that, on account of the moral effect thereby gained, and in spite of the risks incurred, they will cross the Rhine at Strassburg and neighbourhood, and strike at the Third Army.

The most probable eventuality, according to my thinking, is that we shall encounter each other in the Palatinate, and there the decisive battle will be fought, somewhere about the first week in August. Unfortunately, our reserve cannot be up in line by that time.

I am rejoiced at the idea of the unpracticable schemes of the French, dangerous only to themselves, for landing troops on our sea-coast. They must already have landed on the Island of Borkum, to establish themselves there, and thence raid Hanover. It will be a great awakening for them. I am anxious about Wilhelmshaven, Altona, Hamburg, Kiel, and perhaps Bremen.

Berlin, July 24.

At mid-day on the 22nd I reported, with several others, to the King. He spoke with much emotion

and in short phrases of the injustice of the attacks made on him without provocation on his part. He ended with the words: 'A clear conscience and a sharp sword—these are our weapons, and with these we shall win.'

My visits occupied all my time.

In my office in the Palace I am quite alone—no help of any kind. The news of the enemy is unimportant. In the evening I remained at home very exhausted. On the 23rd my office desks began to be tenanted, so that I am not so destitute of help as at first.

My brother Louis and Hans, my nephew, were here and dined with me.

I had proposed to the Crown Prince that Möllendorff* or Albrecht† should be taken on to the Staff. He does not, however, seem to think it necessary that I should have anybody to attend to my personal wants and comfort, and to relieve me of small details, such as stable management, etc.

In the evening I was with Dammas. Towards night Gottberg, the Assistant-Quartermaster-General, came in and relieved me of the chief part of my labour.

The same evening.

This morning I heard with great joy that Albrecht had been appointed Commandant for our Headquarter camp. It was altogether unexpected.

At mid-day I rode into Potsdam, to the baptism of the young Princess, and had the good fortune to

* A son-in-law.

† A great friend.

travel in the same compartment as Count Bismarck. He was quite talkative about German politics, and gave me a hint as to how our allies of Southern Germany were to be treated, in which I am quite agreed.

Strange it is that we should begin this second campaign with a christening !

Bismarck is very anxious that the Crown Prince should go to the South and pay a short visit there. I am quite agreeable. No news of the enemy at all.

It seems as though the enemy were still far from being complete in their preparations. I hope we may not be deceived by appearances.

At the wedding in the New Palace I found a universal confidence in our power, without any overweening arrogance ; all seem quite certain of our superiority and confident of victory.

Three French men-of-war are already stranded.

Gottberg has so relieved me of work that I feel quite idle. He has begun right well.

Berlin, July 25.

A heavy day, what with interviews, packing up, and buying outfit.

Nothing particular from the theatre of war ; only a telegram from Goeben that a small skirmish has taken place at Saarbrücken, and that ten of the French have fallen.

The satisfaction that the needle-rifle holds its own is universal.

A pretty feat of thirty Uhlans is reported. They have blown up a viaduct near Saargemund.

At nine o'clock in the evening I was commanded to go to Her Majesty to take leave.

I was entreated to watch over and protect, 'I and my whole Staff,' the safety of the Crown Prince. To assure her, we were to give our promise in writing. She also recommended to my care the Archduke of Weimar; and during the night I received two very impressive letters from Her Majesty on the same subject.

The Queen spoke most charmingly, and always to the point.

I had to sit up till late in the night packing up.

July 26.

At eight o'clock through Leipsic and Altenberg, where the Archduke met us, and through Hof, in company with the 58th Infantry Regiment. Frightful heat. At every station, especially in Saxony, nothing but cheering and hurraing. The enthusiasm is wonderful, and it is universal.

At the Bavarian frontier we were received by the Adjutant-General. We slept very little, but we ate and drank enormously. The heat was more intense than ever. A telegram on the way led us to expect an attack on the part of the French on the 27th.

Gottberg has reached this place from Berlin.

July 27.

At half-past eleven in the day we arrived at Munich. His Majesty the King of Bavaria came to meet us a few stations out. An unaccountable throng of people

from the station to the Residency. Everywhere shouting and hurraing. Most exciting!

I was longing to get some rest, but was only able to do so after I had been introduced to a number of high officials. Everywhere great satisfaction is expressed that they are able to take sides with Prussia.

Dinner at the Residency at five o'clock, then to the theatre, where we saw Wallenstein's *Lager*. Here, too, the enthusiasm was extraordinary. I really believe that the Munich people are throwing themselves into the struggle heart and soul.

At eleven o'clock I went to sleep on a sofa, and at two o'clock we started by special train to Stuttgart.

Nothing heard of the enemy. It looks really as though he wanted to leave us time to concentrate completely.

Stuttgart, July 28.

At eight o'clock in the morning we arrived here, and were received by the King of Wurtemberg. I am most comfortably housed in the Royal Palace here in Stuttgart.

Up to mid-day no further news of the enemy. We may now rightly assume that his preparations are all in arrear. The reserves are only to come up to their battalions to-morrow.

Towards mid-day I received a visit from the War Minister, Von Suchow, whose whole interest lies in Prussia.

A magnificent dinner, during which the Queen conversed with me for a long time.

Carlsruhe, July 28.

At six o'clock we started off. Indescribable enthusiasm everywhere, but most marked at Pforzheim and here, where the Archduke and Archduchess, who is sister to the Crown Prince, received us.

I had the great joy of meeting some old friends, Beyer and Peszczynski.

News of the enemy! The Emperor was yesterday in Nancy, and assembled his Generals. The issue is near at hand, and we may expect the first attack on my birthday, or thereabouts.

The arrangements which Beyer has made appear to me to be excellent, and I will alter nothing for the present.

Reports from spies, coming in this morning early, point to the conclusion that the French wish to cross about twelve miles below Hüningen. It is not, however, very evident with what object. Also the French Guard has been reported near Strassburg, so that perhaps MacMahon has some 80,000 men with him there. Pontoons, too, have been seen moving about.

It is not at all improbable that he will cross near Strassburg, and will operate in the direction of South Germany, counting upon the vacillation of the South German States, and possibly in the expectation that the Italians will enter into alliance with him and invade us through Tyrol. This plan, however, appears to me so extravagant that I cannot believe in it.

It is to be hoped that we will not allow ourselves to be harassed, but quietly await the turn of events, and then, when all is ready, take the offensive and march on Nancy.

At three o'clock we drove over from Carlsruhe to the fortress of Rastatt, which appears to be in a splendid condition. It seems to me, however, that in case of a siege the place is in considerable danger, owing to the presence of so many woods around, which have been allowed to stand.

To day we have had much rain, followed by oppressive heat. I am quite played out.

Speyer, July 29.

Very heavy rain in the night. At eight o'clock we travelled by train and carriage from Carlsruhe to this place, Speyer. We found that a portion of the Headquarters had already arrived.

A very good lodging at the house of President von Pfeuffer. In the afternoon we drove with the Crown Prince to Gernersheim, where we inspected the fortress. The place was well provisioned and well armed, and had, to all appearances, a first-rate officer in command. We then reconnoitred as far as the Klingbach, and looked at several cantonments in Bellheim, Gersdorf, and other places.

In the evening we returned, in the greatest heat, dog-tired, and had then to do justice to a magnificent dinner prepared by our host.

It is a kaleidoscopic and confusing assortment of mankind here. All want to talk to me, and all retail the most astonishing facts.

War correspondents and artists jostle one another to get near Headquarters, and Princes are showered upon us by the dozen.

A train with the Headquarters Staff has just come

in; the rest come on this evening. It was a great pleasure to me to see Albrecht arrive with the Hereditary Archduke of Weimar and the Prince of Hohenzollern.

Nothing important from the enemy.

Gottberg was here for twenty-four hours, and looked into every arrangement about the disposition of the advance force in front of Weisseburg.

July 30.

I have had a frightful lot of work to do, assisted by Gottberg, to bring everything into order. Gottberg works splendidly, and, compared to his, all my efforts are but dilatory and unpractical. From Moltke a telegram has come in, ordering us to advance on Strassburg if we possibly can do so.

I cannot, however, comply, for we shall not be nearly ready, as the Bavarians will have only half completed their preparations by August 2.

I telegraphed to him that we cannot be ready to commence operations before August 3.

I have not yet received an answer, and for the present we remain where we are.

Speyer, July 31.

Always the same frightful amount of work to do in the office. My door does not remain closed two minutes consecutively. The only thing we hear of the enemy is through reconnaissances—that he is *en évidence* near Weisseburg and Bitsche.

I shall not be able to write much in my journal, as I shall have very little time for it; moreover, in the

press of business I shall not have time to concentrate my thoughts sufficiently to write coherently, except what is absolutely necessary.

Speyer, August 1.

To-day things are beginning to settle down; still, every instant somebody comes to see me. To-day at six o'clock Colonel Verdy came from the King at Mainz, very likely to see how everything was progressing with us. We had a long conversation upon the situation, and are apparently of the same mind. I could not, however, conceal from him my opinion that the instructions given from Headquarters as regards the general idea are very defective, for as far as the Third Army is concerned, nothing whatever has been said of the rôle it is to play.

It has been assigned no task, and as for assuming one for ourselves, and at the same time conforming to the dispositions of the Headquarters Staff, we have not the essential knowledge of the political situation, nor do we know what instructions have been issued to the other armies.

To-morrow I shall put my ideas into black and white, and communicate with Moltke. Verdy returned this evening. To-day is a day of rest. We require it, as the Bavarians are not yet complete.

Speyer, August 2.

To-morrow we concentrate the several Army Corps, and go into bivouac. There they will have some rest, and be able to complete equipment.

To-morrow is Frederick William's birthday. My letter to Moltke has gone.

August 3.

A quiet day in bivouac. At first arrangements were made for an advance to the Lauter to-morrow. Then at eleven o'clock we drove to Landau. The heat was frightful; but to-day the sky is somewhat more clouded, thank God! Merry doings at the inn. In the evening heavy rain.

August 4.

An advance of the whole army to the Lauter. At nine o'clock commenced the terrible game of war by an attack of the Bavarians on Wissemburg, a defensible town in a formidable position on the Weissberg. It was, however, only held by one division, with General Douay in command. At one o'clock both town and the Gaisberg were taken. To-morrow we advance again and begin the gruesome work afresh. We had, unfortunately, very heavy loss.

MacMahon must be in Strassburg. The Fifth Army Corps behaved splendidly.

Soultz, August 5.

To-day the advance into the country of Soultz took place. Terrible heat, but a little wind, so that the march was not so trying. Our troops are not all in yet; the last ones come in to-night. Good lodgings in the château of Max Weil, the author.

The march to-morrow for our army will not be a long one. We are leaving this, as MacMahon's troops

must be in position in the hills between Reichshofen and Woerth, and we make a wheel to the right with the whole army to attack the enemy on the 6th, and drive him back on the mountains.

Soultz, August 6.

I had this morning a great lot of work, and employed myself in making out a sound plan of operations for the next few days. The roads through the Vosges as marked in the map must be faithfully followed.

There is nothing for it but to divide ourselves into four columns of march, which has always its drawbacks, especially when the several columns are separated by intervals of from four to eight miles. It is, however, not advisable to march otherwise, else we should be losing the advantage we possess in our superiority of numbers.

This morning we heard heavy thunder. It was the sound of a violent cannonade. I proposed to the Prince, at about eleven o'clock, to ride out, and we went at a smart pace towards the sound of firing. When we came near Preussdorf it became quite clear to me that a great fight* had begun. We sent at once the necessary orders to Von der Tann, and to Werder and Bose. They had, however, already started to march towards the sound of the guns.

It was a beautiful day with a somewhat clouded sky, not too hot, and one could see clearly in all directions.

The battle which I had expected to take place on

* The Battle of Woerth.

the 7th, and for which I had prepared a good scheme for the turning of the enemy's right flank, came on of itself to-day, and at half-past four we were victorious.

The French are in full flight towards Reichshofen, and have left two eagles, some thirty guns, and about 4,000 prisoners in our hands.

The losses on both sides are very heavy. Regarding the powers of the mitrailleuse I have been able to glean no particular information. We have, however, captured six of them.

We came in here at nine o'clock, dead-tired, and I got to bed at midnight.

August 7.

I slept splendidly until six o'clock, and now shall be able to work.

It has been a very hard day, with a great deal to do, and I have not been able to quit the office for the whole day. A continuous stream of reports, inquiries, and so on, until I was nearly beside myself. Trains full of wounded and prisoners keep on arriving. We must do something to organize the conveyance of them all from the front.

Gottberg is indefatigable. Soon after nine I got to bed and laid myself down perfectly exhausted.

August 8.

At six o'clock this morning I was awakened by Major von Holleben, who had been sent to me by Moltke. The same old story! Congratulations upon the victory; satisfied with everything; also

much good advice to carry out plans which have been carried out long ago. Still, a sort of impatient feeling is apparent, as though we ought to be getting along more quickly, whereas we have pressed our men to the utmost—in fact, too much.

The supply arrangements are not all that could be desired. Most of the provision columns are still at Berlin, and here in this country very little is to be found.

At half-past eight we broke up our bivouac and arrived in pelting rain at Mertzwiller.

As the columns march by themselves, I have now some days' rest. My quarters at the house of the schoolmaster are very good, but I have to write by the simple light of a tallow 'dip.' My host, like almost all the people here, speaks German.

Alsatia is still quite German, and must remain German. Strassburg is completely denuded of regular troops, and will be defended by Garde-mobiles. General Beyer is to try a *coup de main* there to-night, but I have serious misgivings, and fear a great loss of life. Still, I am not sufficiently acquainted with the local conditions to be able to pass an opinion. During our ride this morning we had to pass over a portion of the battlefield, which presented a ghastly spectacle, the fields covered with newly-dug graves, corpses of men still unburied, and horses, arms, accoutrements, breastplates, and all sorts of equipment. In the village of Morsdorff a whole regiment of Cuirassiers was absolutely wiped out.

The number of dead and wounded is appalling. I dare not allow myself to think about it.

August 9.

Early this morning I had a great many letters to despatch.

At eight o'clock we marched on to Obermodern, where I am billeted in a very poor quarter, a peasant's house.

We have received reports from Beyer that his expedition to Strassburg has failed, as I thought it would. They got, however, to the glacis, and demanded the surrender of the town.

I have been poring over maps all day, till I can hardly see.

August 10.

To-day we marched off at ten o'clock, so as not to interrupt the march of the Fifth Army Corps.

The march over La Petite Pierre was less trying than I had expected. The rain, however, poured in torrents, and the ground was very slippery. The fortress was reconnoitred, and found to have been relinquished. Six guns, one mortar, ammunition, and provisions, were found. The little fort is really most interesting, and was evidently originally built, not for the defence of France, but for that of Germany. Very picturesque it is.

Yesterday evening the little fortress of Lichtenberg was bombarded by the Wurtemberg troops and forced to surrender. Bitsche and Pfalsburg still hold out, though the latter was handsomely bombarded by General Gersdorf this evening. Both have, therefore, been masked, and the march continued round them.

It is not raining, it is just pouring ! and the poor soldiers are all in bivouac.

On to Petersbach.

Petersbach, August 11.

Incessant rain. It literally pelts. The Second Army has pushed its left wing in front of us. We are closely packed in each other's way, and I cannot conceal from myself the notion that General von Moltke has manœuvred us into a pretty mess, and I think that he has incorrect notions of what troops are capable of, and of what they can be called upon to do and *still retain their organization*. According to my notions the French have retreated behind the Moselle. Everything points to that conclusion.

It cannot be supposed that they will dare, in face of our great numerical superiority, to take the offensive against us. They will take up a defensive position.

I should advance to the Moselle on a broader front, and not keep the columns so crowded together, send strong advanced guards a day's march ahead, and then concentrate upon the spot where reconnaissances have shown the enemy to be in position. This crowded order of march fatigues the troops most unnecessarily.

We have thrown forward the Eleventh Army Corps towards Saarburg in order to advance thence upon Lunéville, to cross the river above Nancy, and gain the enemy's flank.

The Cavalry Division is on ahead, and will doubtless reach Lunéville and Moyenic to-morrow.

From six o'clock in the morning (when a com-

munication came in from Moltke) till twelve I have been writing, and my brain is quite muddled.

The barometer is rising, but it is still very wet and close.

My quarters and bed are good. Yesterday I unfortunately got an attack of diarrhœa, due to eating too much bread and drinking too much water.

It seems to be better to-day.

To-morrow we remain here. We must not change the location of Headquarters too much, or we shall have no time to work.

To-day we got information that Beyer had been ordered from the King's Headquarters to move on Strassburg to invest it.

Reinforcements are promised him from home. To-morrow morning I am sending an engineer officer there, Schultze by name.

It is of the utmost political importance that we take Strassburg. Everything here must in the future be German. I never hear anything but German spoken here—never a French word. Everything is German although we are in Lorraine.

The Crown Prince is always cheery, always kind and considerate. It is a real pleasure to serve with him.

August 12.

Incessant rain. The poor troops must be suffering terribly.

To-day all the corps pass over the Saar ; at least, that is our intention. For to-morrow a further advance is commanded.

August 13.

At last we have fine weather, but very hot, and a most trying march to Saarburg, where I have got a very good lodging at the house of a rich widow.

At last we have news from Paris. In the House of Legislature there was a very stormy debate yesterday. According to all accounts, the French appear to be withdrawing from Metz of their own accord.

I really believe that the French Army is so demoralized by our victories that they will not make another stand, but will only fight when driven back on Paris. That will take another three weeks, and much may happen in that time. I fancy that there may not be another fight. In fourteen days there will be neither an Emperor nor an army.

I received a very charming letter from General von Moltke, from which I gather that the King is very much pleased with us.

We are now up in line almost with the Second Army, but we ought to have a day's halt soon. It is becoming too severely trying. It is significant, as General von Moltke wrote to me, that the Prince Imperial has been sent to London.

It is difficult, without a more perfect acquaintance with the country, to arrange the day's marches so that they can be carried out without a hitch. The roads lead so widely apart.

August 14.

At eight o'clock this morning the Prince sent General von Werder to Strassburg to take up the command of the siege.

At nine o'clock we rode in great heat to Blamont, where I have got an excellent billet in a castle near an old ruin.

According to Count Solms, who has received a letter from Count Bismarck, the political situation is very favourable to us, and the neutrality of the Great Powers is assured, since Russia is friendly.

We receive news continually confirming the reports of the disorganization of the French armies. It is almost a matter of certainty that the enemy is withdrawing his troops from the neighbourhood of Metz.

Pfalsburg has been bombarded almost the whole day by General von Tümpling, but refuses to surrender. On the other hand, the Second Bavarian Army Corps fired fifteen shots at the small fort at Marsal, whereupon it capitulated. We captured three hundred prisoners and several guns. To-morrow we proceed. I am impatiently waiting for instructions for future operations beyond the Moselle and westwards.

August 15.

At eight o'clock we made a start in scorching heat and arrived in Lunéville at half-past twelve. Lunéville is a frightfully ugly town with straight streets. A cool north wind there made the heat bearable. In the afternoon Lieutenant von Stulpnagle returned from the King's Headquarters, and brought us news of a fresh victory won by General von Steinmetz near Metz. The inhabitants of this place knew of the fight, but talked of it as a victory for

the French ; their downcast countenances, however, belied their words.

The rest-day that we asked for has been granted us for to-morrow.

The Second Bavarian Corps alone goes to Nancy. We have found large stores of provisions here. The Mayor endeavoured to conceal the fact, but was made to divulge by means of threats.

We are living in the inn here very comfortably and faring well.

August 16.

Another very hard day's work, as marching orders had to be prepared for the days from the 19th onward, to include the advance on the Meuse.

As we intended to go to Nancy to-morrow, His Royal Highness decided, after to-day's work had been finished, to push on this evening, in order to drive in with the King to-morrow to Pont-à-Mousson. It was a beautiful drive, though somewhat tedious, as we had a troop of Uhlans with us as escort, and these had to be spared. At ten o'clock at night we arrived here in Nancy, and put up at the Hôtel de France. The town is full of Bavarians belonging to the Second Army Corps.

Nancy, August 17.

This morning at a quarter past seven we wanted to start, when the orderly from the King's Headquarters arrived and reported that a great battle had been fought by the Third and Tenth Army Corps in front of Metz. The French have retired in good order upon Metz. The King sent word to us that a decisive

battle would be fought to-day, and, if we wished to be present, horses would be in waiting for us at Gorze near Metz.

The Crown Prince would have greatly liked to be present at such an important battle,* but it became my duty to support him in his resolution to deny himself. It is his duty to remain with his army, for everything may not go according to our expectations, and some important decision may have to be taken, in which case his absence would, to say the least, be unfortunate.

Here, therefore, we are waiting the issue in no small perturbation of spirit.

Yesterday Toul was bombarded by the Fourth Army Corps, and some sort of an assault delivered—military buffoonery!

The French officials, Mayors, etc., worry me terribly with their reports of ‘starvation,’ ‘want of bakeries,’ and with correspondence, applications for permits, etc.

Nancy, August 18.

The whole day long we have waited here in the inn, in no small agitation, in hopes of getting some news from Headquarters.

I dictated instruction for general officers commanding and orders of march up to the 20th. In the afternoon I was fortunate enough to get a walk in the garden.

* Gravelotte.

Nancy, August 19.

At last Major von Hahnke, who was sent to Headquarters to watch the operations for us, has come back. He returned at 5.30 this morning.

It seems to have been a hard tussle, to which darkness alone put an end. The Prussian Army has won about two miles of ground, and I have no doubt that it will bring the matter to a successful conclusion to-day.

No orders have we received. General Podbielski has, however, informed us that we should remain on the spot where we are. That would only be taking half-measures. We must press forward and leave the line of the Meuse and the defiles behind us, and obtain possession of the great southern railway lines. The Crown Prince wished to concentrate and move backwards one march. There would be no object gained by such a move, for we should not be able to determine the issue of the battle any better there than here. We *must* move forwards; else the *moral* of the army will suffer.

The Mayor keeps on worrying me with complaints. 'We demand too much of him, and the townsmen declare that they have nothing.' All work is at a standstill.

The streets are crowded with men, and every coffee and beer house is full.

To-day I saw a beautiful picture-gallery in the Hôtel de Ville, which is built like a palace. Albrecht and I went there together. The Mayor has lied to me like a fiend. As soon as we arrived, he informed me that the town had no supplies, and that it would

be starved. I ordered up twenty-five military bakers, and made them bake bread for the town from the supplies which we had requisitioned, and now I learn this evening that a magazine with 3,000 centners of oats and a large quantity of meal has been discovered.

At ten o'clock in the evening Captain Lenke came back from Pont-à-Mousson, bringing news that the French had retired under the fortress of Metz, and so no fight had taken place.

We decided to move headquarters to-morrow to Vaucouleurs, and ourselves drive to meet the King.

August 20.

Starting at half-past six this morning, in company with the Crown Prince, we drove through the beautiful valley of the Moselle to Pont-à-Mousson. The King was especially graciously disposed towards me and told me how inexpressibly overjoyed he felt at the victory gained by the Crown Prince, a matter of the weightiest consideration for himself, and of the utmost importance to his son's future.

The King was intensely strained by the fatigues of the campaign, and had become quite nervous. What affected him most were the terrible losses among the officers in the battle of the 18th.

He complained bitterly that the officers of the higher grades appeared to have forgotten all that had been taught them so carefully at manœuvres, and had apparently all lost their heads.

Battles like that we could not stand for long. The King appeared concerned about the operations leading

up to the battle, but kept returning to and harping upon the losses of his brave officers, and among them his dearest. Moltke was cold and calm, as always, and was not troubled with cares, a state of mind I cannot share with him. I have had a talk with Preskow and many others. At one o'clock we started for home, got something to eat at Nancy, and then, traversing the beautiful country of St. Vincent and Colombey, arrived at Vaucouleurs, on the Meuse. Shortly after passing through Colombey we came upon the columns on the march, and could hardly get past. We reached this about ten o'clock, and found the Staff already installed here.

We accomplished fifty-six miles in our drive. It was exceedingly cold, and I am afraid that I have caught a chill.

August 21.

To-day is a blessed day of rest.

I am billeted on a Jew, and don't like it.

There has been little to do to-day, and it really is a day of rest. I took a walk among the hills.

Yesterday a lot of volunteer ambulance men and hospital bearers gave trouble and annoyed me very much. I have restored order among them, and am determined to give short shrift to any of them in the future that cannot behave themselves; otherwise there will be some glaring breach of the articles of the Geneva Convention. I should like to see all the stimulants that have been sent up to us dropped into the river. The gang of these fellows with us is far too large, and most difficult to keep in order. They will cause great confusion among our people.

Two more Princes have just come in. There will soon be the full dozen at Headquarters. The last comers are the Duke of Augustenburg and Prince Hermann von Weimar.

In the evening orders arrived from the King's Headquarters for a further advance; to-morrow I will make out the orders of march, and the following day we shall start.

Vaucouleurs

(Renowned through Joan of Arc),

August 22.

It took the whole of the forenoon to work out the tables for the marches of the next few days, as we have to place ourselves on the line St. Mard-Vitry, the portion of the army under the Crown Prince of Saxony (the 4th, the 12th A.C. and the Guards) being on our right in the neighbourhood of Menehould. At eleven o'clock the general officers commanding were summoned to meet here.

The Crown Prince read through to them the special instructions which have been issued with regard to the conduct of battle operations, and spoke on other essential subjects, such as the delivery of orders, replacing casualties, etc.

We then breakfasted with him. I had a great deal of talking to do, but not much work.

The weather has become exceedingly cold. Many officers have an attack of something like cholera, and I am troubled with cold and headache, and pains in the stomach as well.

Towards evening one of our spies came in and

brought news of socialistic tendencies and republican sentiments which are beginning to make themselves felt at Muhlhausen, Lyon, Bordeaux, and Nice, requiring the presence of French soldiers at all these places.

What will be the outcome of all this chaos no one can tell. All I know is that we are going to march straight on Paris, and that is God's will.

We have already 500,000 troops in France, and if we have to fight a great battle at Chalons or Epernay we hope to be able to bring another 400,000 up towards Paris. I am much exercised to know how matters will go at Chalons, and whether we shall be able to mask the fortifications around that place, or get hold of the hills near Epernay, and so threaten the flank and rear of the foe.

Ligny, August 23.

Early this morning, at six o'clock, in heavy rain, we marched out and arrived here, where we are quartered in an old tumbledown castle in the centre of the town. I have a good room, and, what is better still, a good bed.

The enemy appears to be still round Chalons. Our cavalry has got into touch with him.

In the evening the news came from Moltke that the French had quitted Chalons, and that we must again form front in the direction of Paris. This entailed a change in our order of march. The whole of the cavalry had to be thrown forward, and the Sixth Army Corps directed on Joinville.

August 24.

At noon to-day Moltke came to us here, as the King's Headquarters are moving on Bar-le-Duc. We discussed everything.

Shortly before he arrived the report came in from the Sixth Cavalry Division that the greater part of the French had left the entrenched camp at Chalons, and had retired on Rheims. It seems as though they mean to take up a position to a flank which we cannot pass, and one from which they will be able, if necessary, to relieve Metz. The idea is not a bad one, but if they are attacked and beaten it is all up with them. In the evening we received information which confirmed the news. The peasants are beginning to take up arms, and in the neighbourhood of Eclaron have shot three men and a horse. There were Garde-mobiles there.

To-morrow we shall get more reliable information, and then we shall know more about the matter. We shall be obliged to concentrate more on our right flank. At three o'clock the King came and breakfasted with us, and his staff with him. He looked quite well again and cheerful—a right soldierlike presence. Two hundred iron crosses were presented, one of which fell to me.

The weather is somewhat warmer, but now it is beginning to rain.

Ligny, August 25.

Our Cavalry Division is already in Chalons. The camp is deserted, and the enemy *has*, as was supposed, withdrawn to Rheims. Almost immediately after

we had sent out our orders for a rest-day there arrived, at about two o'clock, an order from Moltke telling us to move somewhat more to the right, and rest our right wing on Givry in Argonne, our left being at Changy, two miles from Vitry. I must accordingly prepare fresh orders for the march, but I do hope that we shall be able to procure a day's rest on the 27th.

The Crown Prince has got a touch of diarrhoea, and looks much pulled down. I, too, in company with many others, am suffering a good deal from pains in the stomach.

The French appear to be actually halted at Rheims.

To-day is the birthday of the King of Bavaria.

At last I have received a letter from my wife.

August 26.

In the night I received a communication from General von Moltke, to the effect that the enemy appears to have quitted Rheims, and to be marching in a north-westerly direction. It is, however, only known through newspapers and sources of such-like description, which are quite unreliable. No change in our disposition will be necessary.

At ten o'clock the Staff marched in here. The First and Second Bavarian Army Corps had received orders from the King to stand still for the present. No positive information of the enemy has as yet come in, but a number of rumours are current that MacMahon, with about 110,000 men, has broken out from Rheims, utilizing the railway to a certain extent.

It appears likely that MacMahon wishes to march round us towards the north and give a hand to Bazaine, who will then make a sortie from Metz.

That portion of the army under the Crown Prince of Saxony (Guard and Fourth and Twelfth Army Corps) has already received orders to march off through Varennes in the direction of Damvillers. The First and Second Bavarian Corps received the order to follow forthwith. The Third Army was to be left free to continue its march direct on Paris, as it was considered to be sufficiently strong in itself for the movement. This I could not assent to, but I told them that we ought also to be there, and should march on St. Menehold. If the enemy is beaten, we could cut off his retreat at Vouziers, and afterwards reach Paris quite soon enough. The King approved, and as soon as we reached this (about three o'clock) I immediately set to work to get the necessary orders out for the march.

In the evening we had the prisoner of war, Major von Vitry, to dinner. He was dressed in plain clothes, and looked like a cobbler. I should not wonder if he is a spy.

The Crown Prince is so unwell that he has had to go to bed.

August 27.

No further news from Moltke except that it has been ascertained by reconnaissances that the enemy is in strength with all three arms near Grandpré. I can only suppose this is a flanking party. To-morrow the points of our columns will be in touch, and then

we shall hear more about it. The task we have set ourselves may bring about good results. I am writing orders for to-morrow's march, and instructions for the general officers commanding. The most unfavourable turn affairs could take would be that MacMahon should throw himself now with his whole strength upon us. We should only be able to oppose some 80,000 men to him, as we have no supports handy within twelve or sixteen miles.

He, however, must be quite ignorant of our march, and believes us to be on the way to Paris.

My stomach-aches have been exceedingly troublesome ; I think they are due to a chill and to this country wine, which I must avoid in future, in spite of the unquenchable thirst which is always on me.

The Crown Prince is, unfortunately, still in bed, but always genial and cheery. It is frightfully cold, and I am shivering in spite of the woollen jacket which I have donned.

St. Menehold, August 28.

The continual stream of ever-varied reports causes endless changes in our dispositions for the marches. They give me incessant work, for I always try to bring every man I have under cover for the night.

During these continuous rains, and owing to the almost incredible tenacity of the mud in this Champagne country, this precaution is all the more necessary.

I was awakened at half-past four this morning, and had to alter all my plans and cut short the

day's march owing to the dispositions made by His Majesty.

We only move on to-day as far as the Tourbe, a matter of about twelve miles.

At eight o'clock I drove into St. Menehold with the Crown Prince, who is not completely recovered yet. Here we received reports from our Cavalry Division. Vouziers has been evacuated by the enemy; so has Grandpré. The enemy has withdrawn in a north-easterly direction, most likely towards Le Chesne. What he means by this move it is hard to tell, for in two marches he will be on the Belgian frontier, we in pursuit, prepared to surround him with the two armies. Can he escape us, and if so, in what direction? Shall we get him to fight at last? That, perhaps, is within the knowledge of the gods.

At five o'clock, after Brandenstein, who had come here from the King's Headquarters, had departed, I sent out orders for to-morrow's march.

At nine o'clock the plan was changed, and a scheme substituted which upset all my arrangements, and tied me once more to the desk. My stomach is better, but the pains are not all gone yet. I have a beautiful quarter in the Préfet's house, but, alas! to-morrow I have to leave it.

August 29.

Early this morning, at half-past twelve, I was awakened by Herr von Notiz, who brought me from the King's Headquarters a communication containing a new disposition of the forces. Everything was again altered. We had to work out the scheme, and

then write and issue orders, which lasted us till three o'clock in the morning.

According to my way of thinking, it is an immense error to keep continually making changes with every new report which comes in. The information is for the most part unreliable, or exaggerated and misinterpreted, and continuous alterations create a sort of nervous uncertainty which soon communicates itself to the troops.

At nine o'clock I drove with the Crown Prince, and after many delays, caused by meeting the columns on the march, we arrived here at Sanluc on the Aisne, a pleasant little village.

On our arrival Moltke met us with the news that the French had got away, but soon word was brought in from our Cavalry Division which threw doubt on this report. The worst of it was that Moltke had kept back the Bavarian and the Sixth Corps, and had directed them elsewhere, which he now much regretted.

I drove with him to the King's Headquarters at Grandpré, where many reports had come in, from which we gathered that the enemy is really retiring on Le Chesne, but is making a stand in considerable strength near Busancy. The various conjectures as to what he meant to do were instructive. I fancy that he recognises that we are on his heels and are too strong for him, and so he is retreating northwards, and then will try to get away to the west.

I counselled to grapple with him early to-morrow morning, and this is to take place.

I cannot, however, receive my orders till well on into the night.

August 30.

The orders from the King's Headquarters came to me in the night again, and tore me out of my first and sweetest sleep. It was very much against the grain that I got up and spent hours and hours of the night working with head and hand. I then had to carry everything to the Crown Prince, whom, much against my will, I was obliged to disturb. It is supposed that the enemy is at Stonne Beaumont, and the intention here is to attack him. The pity is that we are still twelve miles from him, and therefore owing to want of time the fruits of victory may not be fully reaped. Reports are coming in from all quarters.

The army marched off at a very early hour; the Staff, however, did not get away till eight o'clock, as we had not got through our work until that time, The Prince and I, both somewhat unfit, drove in our carriage as far as Brinquelles; then we mounted our horses and rode forward with the Staff. For the first two hours we took up our position on a very commanding spot near Givemont, and afterwards moved forward to St. Pierremont, where Kirchbach's corps was advancing against the very formidable though picturesque position of Stonne.

The French had selected this position as one almost impregnable, and felt quite safe in it. We did not, however, give them the pleasure they sought, for we did not advance against it until their left at Beaumont had been driven in. Then we took possession of the heights almost without a shot fired. It was about half-past four. From there we had a

magnificent view of the country around, and for a long time, until darkness set in, we stood watching the fight gradually developing between the Fourth Corps at Mouzon and our First Bavarian Corps.

It was a spectacle never to be forgotten, the weather so beautiful and so clear, cold but perfect, and we could hardly tear ourselves from the spot. We rode away with the feeling of victory assured, and that, too, without much sacrifice of life, and we reached St. Pierremont in the dark, the moon being in her first quarter.

St. Pierremont is a miserable peasant village, and we found quarters in the modest house of the priest, and had to put up with sponge-cakes for supper, as our baggage had not arrived.

The remainder of the enemy's troops will doubtless retire across the Meuse, but what he will do then the gods alone know. I think that we shall either cut him off or drive him over the Belgian frontier.

August 31.

Last night again I was awakened at one o'clock, and had to work out the scheme for the disposition of my troops. At seven o'clock I rose, having a dreadful headache.

At eight o'clock we rode out once more to the heights above Stonne. There for two hours we gazed upon that wonderful scene, and in the distance could hear the angry roll of cannon, and could see clouds of smoke, which betokened that the fight was about to be renewed to-day. Then gradually the smoke disappeared, and about mid-day we rode off

and arrived here in Chemery, where we have got a very indifferent quarter in a brewery.

We had sent some of our Princes, accompanied by officers, to every corps, and to the Crown Prince of Saxony also.

The weather is perfectly beautiful, but somewhat too cold for me, and the chill of the rooms makes my head ache.

In the afternoon General von Moltke was with me. He came in rubbing his hands, with a sardonic smile on his face, and said, 'Now we have them in a mouse-trap.' Later on in the evening arrived a communication from him saying that it would be better to attack the enemy somewhat earlier than my dispositions already published had provided for, so as to prevent him slipping out of the mesh. Orders were therefore given in the night to rush the bridges in the dark, and to press forward immediately with the Eleventh and Fifth Army Corps in the direction of the Mézières-Sedan road, and then to attack the enemy trying to retreat westwards. Officers were sent out in every direction, and I wrote to the Crown Prince of Saxony to ask him not to press his advance too rapidly, in order that we might have time to close the net.

September 1.

Soon after four o'clock in the morning, we (the Crown Prince Frederick and I—neither of us wholly recovered) set out in our carriage, and reached the ever-memorable height above Donchery about six o'clock, whence we were able to overlook almost the

whole of the *terrain* upon which the battle was to rage, and from whence we could despatch necessary reinforcements to any part of the field. The King placed himself, shortly after, upon a neighbouring hill about a mile south-east of us, where he remained the whole day. Both points of observation were beyond the range of shot, and it became very difficult for me to restrain the Prince from going in closer. As far as the selection of the place was concerned, there could be no two opinions, but the Prince could not brook seeing the fight going on and he not taking part in it. I cannot deny that that was my own feeling, too; but I am now old enough to be able to restrain such youthful ardour, and am quite content to find myself looking on at this sort of thing, in calm serenity, from a safe distance.

From the very outset it was unmistakably evident that we were bound to win; still, at every temporary repulse of our people, which was quite easy to follow, owing to the clearly marked lines of smoke, there rose in the hearts of the exalted personages and their entourage cares and anxieties which were almost laughable to those having a clearer insight into the situation.

At ten o'clock the Crown Prince of Saxony was evidently making his forward move, and was gaining ground; our Eleventh Army Corps, too, was beginning to enter into the fight at St. Menges. At that moment I was able to say to the Crown Prince, 'Now the battle is won, the enemy will either be captured or annihilated.' A great many agreed with me, but there were still several unbelievers and many anxious faces.

It was a grand fight; the presence of a thick mist favoured our advance. We, however, were able from our vantage-ground to follow it in spite of the mist.

The delivery of the attack was of a simple nature. The troops were given their line of advance from the outset, and there was no further interference necessary, except in some cases of minor importance.

After the mist had blown away, it became quite clear, and the spectacle of the combat in this magnificent panorama defies all description.

From our post we could see the greater part of the enemy's position. The continuous attacks of the French cavalry, abortive as they were, upon our infantry made one's heart beat. Looking so long through the telescope made my eyes quite sore, and rendered me at last half blind. The encircling armies gradually drew the net tighter and tighter round the foe, and at five o'clock, whilst we were watching the flight of the enemy towards the fortress, the cannon ceased firing altogether.

We now rode to meet the King, whom we found quite calm and serene, with a very pleased expression on his face, whilst his eyes were directed upon the town. He was on the point of ordering all the artillery available to be concentrated upon the town, and then, after a half-hour's cannonade, he intended to demand its surrender. After a very short fire from the Bavarian batteries a flag of truce appeared. It was from General Reille, an officer known to many of ours. Shortly afterwards he came himself with a letter from the Emperor, who was in the fortress. In a few words the Emperor proffered his sword in token of

surrender. Then took place a consultation regarding the terms, and in half an hour the whole of the French Army was handed over to us, prisoners of war, in accordance with the conditions of capitulation. To such an event as this history can hardly find a parallel.

Our trophies are enormous, and at present cannot properly be estimated. The excitement and exaltation are prodigious, but I cannot say that that is the effect it has produced on me.

It was quite dark when the Prince and I entered the carriage and drove back to our quarters in Chemery.

September 2.

I slept magnificently. At eight o'clock we drove out to our point of observation of yesterday.

Upon the highroad we met Moltke, from whom we learnt that Louis Napoleon had arrived in Donchery in the early morning, and there, in a simple workman's hut, had sat and talked with Bismarck for several hours. The mighty are fallen indeed, though I cannot say that I have much pity for this one. For the insolence with which he treated our King and country, and for having provoked this war, he is now justly punished.

We awaited the King for some time, and then drove with him to our height of yesterday, where much time was lost in talk. Reports and messages arrived in shoals. The two Staffs and a number of other inquisitive officers formed quite a crowd. Soon after one or two o'clock we mounted our horses and rode to

the Castle of Sedan, where the King had a short interview with the Emperor, now deeply bowed down with grief. Unfortunately, I was unable to be present, as the King had sent me a mass of papers captured from the enemy, which I had to read through and report upon as soon as possible. I sat on a barrel whilst doing this.

Arrangements were made for the transportation of the Emperor, through Belgium by Bouillon and Aix, to Wilhelmshöhe, near Cassel. The move was carried out that afternoon. The gala carriages and horses accompanied and escorted by Prussian cavalry, the Emperor in his carriage hardly once raising his eyes, whilst the cavalcade moved at a slow pace through the lines of the Fifth and the Eleventh Corps, must have been an extraordinary sight. This spectacle, also, I was unable to witness, as I had to remain in my quarters with a great deal of work to do; in fact, my hands were quite full with dispositions for the troops for the next few days, as now, leaving behind two Army Corps and the Fourth Cavalry Division to escort the French prisoners of war out of Sedan, we are to march straight on to Paris.

My billet in Donchery, at the house of a brewer's widow, Houbilot by name, was very good. The Prince was accommodated in the same house. The whole place is choked with waggons, troops, wounded, etc., which is very unpleasant. In the church 700 prisoners were incarcerated.

The Crown Prince and nearly all the officers rode off to the town and the bivouacs, all so excited and dying to satisfy their curiosity.

I sat alone at home to collect reports and frame orders. Towards evening the rain descended in torrents, and at about nine o'clock the Prince came in drenched to the skin. The King must have reached his quarters in Vendressa at about midnight. How it is possible for a man of his age (seventy-four years) to stand the amount of fatigue and excitement that he does is to me a marvel.

September 3.

A frightfully rainy day, and I with so much to do that I could not set foot outside Donchery, in spite of my great desire to see Sedan and the captured army.

After everything had been carried out with such precision up to date, suddenly there set in the wildest confusion in the communication of orders, which nearly drove me mad with annoyance. It was indeed too distressing. The written orders of Moltke and Podbielski did not tally with the orders communicated verbally; in short, it looked as though they had intended to bring chaos and confusion into our counsels, then to withdraw and let the thing work out its own salvation. My verbal orders had been for General Schulz to take over the captured war material, and General Bernardi the arrangements for the transport of the prisoners.

There was nobody told off to take charge of all the arrangements in chief, and I have no idea who has brought the prisoners out of the fortress, or even whether they have been brought out at all.

In the evening there came some of the captured

officers, among them General Ducrot and De Failly, and gave expression to their wishes in various forms, which, however, we were unable to comply with, owing to the fact that the terms of the capitulation had not yet been settled. In a word, it was a most dreadful chaos. I wrote about it to Moltke late in the evening, and just as I was getting into my bed an officer came from Mézières, despatched by the Commandant, to get a convoy of provisions for the prisoners escorted to them. The poor beggars were nearly starving. There must have been about 60,000 or 70,000, with about 10,000 horses. The particulars of this affair only came to light later on.

September 4.

I was heartily glad when Donchery was left in our rear. I drove with the Crown Prince twenty-two miles, and almost the whole time along the flanks of the columns marching on towards Paris. It was very beautiful and exhilarating weather. Somewhere about two o'clock we arrived in Attigny, a small village which had suffered terribly from having so many troops quartered in it. Our host, a worthy solicitor, complained bitterly of the misery of his fellow-townsmen, who now would have no bread to eat. It is not altogether as bad as he made out, for these fellows know precious well how to hide away their stuff.

My work has very much diminished, and is now confined almost to the drafting of the day's orders.

Thank God the Crown Prince is now almost well again, and is quite cheerful and always kind. I have

had many most interesting conversations with him in the carriage on topics of both military and political moment. He talks a good deal himself, and also listens to what another has to say. He likes one not only to converse, but to argue freely.

September 5.

At eight o'clock in the morning we drove out, and arrived in most beautiful weather at the village of Warmeriville, in the Champagne country. We had a rendezvous in a little wood with the whole Staff, and by mid-day came in here, where we were well received by a rich linen-spinner. In this beautiful warm weather the halt in a country house is very pleasant. I had very little to do ; still I could not get over my bad humour. The peasants about here seem quiet and harmless, though our troops have had to burn down some of their villages, from which the peasants had fired upon them.

September 6.

At eight o'clock this morning we drove here to Rheims, the old coronation city of France, with its famous cathedral and its more famous champagne. We were billeted at the house of the Widow Berlé-Cliquot, a palace in its way, in which we were all installed in the most princely fashion.

At déjeuner there was a champagne standing on the table the equal to which I have never tasted in my life. It is made from specially-selected grapes, and is reserved exclusively for the use of the family Cliquot.

Immediately after our arrival we reported ourselves to the King, who was quartered in the palace of the Archbishop. We were there until mid-day. After lunch Prince Bismarck read a despatch from Paris, according to which a new Ministry had been formed, composed of members of the Extreme Left (Red Republicans), and the Legislative Assembly had been closed. The Republic has not yet been proclaimed, but it is actually in existence. What will come of it the gods alone know! Bismarck said to me that we need no longer dread any interference on the part of the diplomatics. There should be no question of negotiations. To-morrow we march forward on Paris. The Staff remains a couple of days longer here.

September 7.

To-day was a very quiet day for me, and, as it was raining hard, I did not go out, except to have a look at the very beautiful cathedral with its glorious sculpture.

At mid-day there was a banquet at the Crown Prince's table, to which the King and his Staff were invited. There is no particular news to chronicle, except a vague rumour that the French have endeavoured to break out of Metz once more. The heads of our columns are about forty miles in front of us on the way to Paris. We shall have, however, to remain halted a few days to allow the Crown Prince of Saxony with his army to come up into line. He started later than we, but in addition he makes shorter marches.

September 8.

This day was a very interesting one to me, for Prince Bismarck came and sat with me for half an hour, and talked a great deal about the position of affairs.

He seems to me not exactly to view the situation as I do. My opinion is that we ought not to allow ourselves to be influenced by the threats of foreign Powers, but should treat the French as a conquered army, and demoralize them to the utmost of our ability. We ought so to crush them that they will not be able to breathe for a hundred years. I was, on the other hand, overjoyed to notice, from what he said, that the question of the annexation of Alsatia and Lorraine (or a great part of it) was looked upon as a settled matter.

Bismarck talked very openly, and is by no means the reserved statesman that some appear to think. It may be that in the course of his weighty conversation he is able to keep such control over his speech as to convey this impression.

I took a walk through the town. In the evening the King came to tea with the Crown Prince.

Boursault, September 9.

During the last few days in Rheims we have had extremely wet weather and many thunderstorms. The Staff marched out at eight o'clock, and at ten o'clock I drove with the Crown Prince to have audience with the King, where we heard very interesting details, but nothing new of sufficient importance to alter the situation.

Moltke said to me that we ought to proceed by easy marches, so as not to leave the Crown Prince of Saxony too far in rear. He had, however, no objection to our advancing as far as Meaux, and there halting; for then we should be in a position to march into Paris immediately, should circumstances demand it; and, furthermore, we would have a start, if required, on the other side of the Seine.

In pouring rain we drove, with an escort of Wurtemberg Cavalry, through Epernay to this place, where is situated the very imposing Castle of Boursault, belonging to the Duc de Mortemar, who is married to a grand-daughter of Cliquot. Almost the whole of the Staff is quartered in the castle, and I inhabit the state room, and sleep in a bed caparisoned almost entirely with silk.

September 10.

The severe equinoctial gales of the last few days appear to have abated. The sojourn in this princely and romantic Castle of Boursault is very pleasant. After dinner the whole of the company assembles in the reception-rooms and makes life go very merrily, in spite of the momentous events in hand.

In the afternoon I took a ride through the park and in the hills. I have an inexpressible longing to be alone at times.

September 11.

Early this morning there came, among other despatches, a communication from Count von Bismarck to the effect that two workmen had started

from London with the intention of assassinating the Crown Prince. It is supposed that his recent victories promise too great a future for him, and it is therefore desirable that he should be removed.

I must have a talk with Gottberg, with a view to getting measures taken for the better protection of Headquarters.

There are also various warning cries as to the reception we are likely to meet with upon our entry into Paris. It was the same when we were marching upon Düppel and upon Königgrätz. It is all vanity, and should a detachment of our troops be entrapped, or blown up by a mine, it can have no influence upon the progress of events.

I called the officers of the General Staff together to-day, to give them a résumé of the operations. I afterwards drove out with the Crown Prince through the park to the Jägerhaus. The air was so deliciously refreshing that when we came home I took a ride with Viebahn and Damery.

After dinner, in the evening, we had the band and a réunion. We heard that there had been a serious explosion of powder at Laon, and were very anxious about it.

September 12.

This morning at 8.30 we left beautiful Boursault in magnificent weather. We still travel in a carriage, although the Prince is quite recovered. It was a beautiful drive through a rich country, reminding one of Westphalia.

At 1.30 we reached Montmirail, a little town with

an old castle belonging to the Duc de la Rochefoucauld.

Here we are very comfortable, in spite of the fact that the owner has fled, carrying with him the greater part of his goods.

From the point of our column we received to-day newspapers from Meaux. They contained a great deal of interesting matter from Paris.

There was also for the Crown Prince and myself a somewhat unpleasant surprise, namely, the letter written by the King of Prussia to the Queen after the Battle of Sedan. The battle is very shortly described therein, and nothing whatever is said of the presence of the Crown Prince's army; in fact, one would suppose that it was not there at all, when the truth is that it was the Third Army which struck the decisive blow. I have now been through three campaigns, and have grown quite accustomed to having the operations, in which I have had the luck to be successful, depreciated; but it pains me to see the doings of the Crown Prince intentionally minimized. It was so at Königgrätz, and now in all our three fights; and I feel sure that this will always be the case. It shall not deter me, however, from carrying out my task to the uttermost, with loyalty and success if possible, trying as it is at times.

When all this is over, I shall dream of rest, and turn my back upon the butcher work.

This evening Mr. Russell, of the *Times* newspaper, came from London, to which he had made a flying visit after Sedan. He brought congratulations and reassuring news for us. It troubles me that the

French newspapers are beginning to talk about peace. It is to be hoped that we shall not allow ourselves to be taken in by them, and commence to treat. The enemy must first of all be trodden under foot and annihilated, else we shall never have rest. We ought not to remain outside Paris, as we did before Vienna. We ought to make a triumphal entry into Paris, even if the whole city be undermined. What we need is Blücher, with his splendid hatred of the French.

September 13.

To-day I had a hard day's work—until three o'clock in the afternoon. As we have to proceed slowly, I shall to-morrow call a halt, and then on the 15th and 16th go forward again towards Paris. Our army is between the Seine and the Marne, which does not please me at all. I should like to cross the Seine below Fontainebleau, or at that place, and march on to Tours, where a new force appears to be forming. This must be hunted out and destroyed. The French must not be allowed to breathe freely again, or we shall have trouble. We are marching so slowly, and with precautions, as though we had an organized army in front of us. This extreme care appears to me to be superfluous, for, as I take it, the best thing to be done is to press on and invest Paris as soon as possible, and so prevent further supplies arriving, and the formation of new armies being attempted.

The French are blowing up all the bridges and railroads. This will not profit them, for they will only have to rebuild them later. When one reads their newspapers, one would think that they were preparing

a second Moscow, or that they intend at the last moment to undermine and blow into the air the whole city of Paris.

Montmirail, September 14.

A very quiet day. Nothing new of importance. At eleven o'clock in the morning we all rode on to the battlefield of 1814, where Gottberg gave us a most interesting address, standing near the monument erected by Napoleon in 1866. It was like a lecture at a Staff ride.

The King is to-day in the Castle of Thierry with his Headquarters, and to-morrow goes on to Meaux, sixteen miles from Paris—not to open negotiations, it is to be hoped. We ought to invest Paris first, and then treat the French as the ancient Romans would have done, and make them pass under the yoke.

Mr. Russell, the *Times* correspondent, who has been in London, told me that he has been able repeatedly to state in London that I showed him on the map, three days before the great battle, how the French were to be surrounded and captured at Sedan.

It was, I believe, at Senluc that I told him this, on the 29th of August.

Coulommiers, September 15.

I woke up this morning with a headache, and as the band of the 7th Regiment began to play a hymn before my window, I burst into tears without knowing why. My nerves must have become unstrung.

In the night a telegram came which called me to a conference with Moltke at Château Thierry. In

magnificent bracing weather I drove with Viebahn in a French one-horse chaise, accompanied by Hahnke and seven Uhlans. I thoroughly enjoyed the view of the beautiful Marne Valley, and the strong air revived me and fortified my nerves.

I had at once a conference with Moltke regarding the manner in which the city of Paris was to be invested. The investment was to be complete on the 19th.

I was quite in accord with Moltke, and am pleased that it is to take place as I had previously planned, and as I had laid down to my Staff officers as the plan I should adopt.

Then we went to have audience of the King, who sanctioned all that was proposed. His Majesty looked very well and cheerful, and read us a telegram from Petersburg, according to which Thiers has gone to London and to Petersburg with the most pacific intentions. Also that Jules Favre is reported to have certain conditions of peace to propose. There were some interesting details. The French newspapers are becoming less bellicose, and will become less so still as soon as we have the city in a ring fence, viz., on the 19th.

Our march took us along the valley of the Marne, and then to Sablonnières, where we had to halt an hour and feed the horses. We were at once surrounded by a dozen men in blouses, and I must say that I could not help congratulating myself on having taken the Crown Prince's advice and brought with us the Uhlans. After threats of severity we succeeded in obtaining oats, and suddenly the fellows

became quite civil, because, as I learnt afterwards, the prospect of a regiment of Bavarians being brought to bear on the question was held out to them, of whom they have a holy horror. I went with Viebahn to the room of a talkative pastor, where I dictated the orders for the morrow.

At six o'clock we arrived here in Coulommiers, and were lodged in the house of the Marquise de Varennes, where King William was lodged in 1814. I am very comfortably billeted on the fourth-floor, and feel much better.

Coulommiers, September 16.

To-day was a superb autumn day. Until mid-day I had to pore over a map, to arrange my dispositions for the investment of Paris, and dictate orders.

The Crown Prince drove to Meaux to see the King. I took a long walk with Herkt.

According to reports which have come in, the Franc-tireurs have been very busy shooting down our troopers. Several of them have been captured and made prisoners instead of being hanged or shot. Our men are as tender-hearted as children, and do not understand the type of foe we have to deal with. The French appear to be burning down all the woods round Paris, digging up all the roads, forming barricades, and blowing up bridges, and seem to forget, or in their ignorance to be unaware, that such tactics avail them nothing, as these are no obstacles to us in our advance unless they are defended by fire. Otherwise we pass over easily, and in the case of the bridges we either repair or rebuild them. It is

a warning to the whole of Europe as to what she has to expect from a Red Republic. They are only cutting their own throats.

An English Attaché was with Bismarck this morning. He had brought some communication regarding an armistice, but he was soon warned off. I am curious to know what impertinences Jules Favre is meditating for the time when negotiations commence.

To-day we heard that our field-post had been captured on September 4, at Verdun. Perhaps we shall find another of my letters in the newspapers. It will not be so piquant this time as it was in 1866.*

Chaumes, September 17.

In the night I was disturbed by the arrival of a message of a very trumpery nature, and was so annoyed that I was unable to get to sleep again. It so upset my rest that, in spite of the glorious weather, I did not enjoy my ride to Chaumes a bit.

We are here quartered in the house of a Parisian notary. No particular reports are to hand. Our cavalry, which is pushed far ahead, spreads terror everywhere. I was delighted to receive at last a letter from my wife. She is in Horst.

Corbeil, September 18.

After a very beautiful ride in pleasant weather, we arrived here at one o'clock, and have taken up our quarters in a château built most tastefully in the midst of a fine park.

* NOTE BY TRANSLATOR.—This is in allusion to the circumstance related in the Journal of 1866, under date August 8.

It is an ancestral mansion belonging now to a rich corn-chandler. The son-in-law, who is mayor of the place, has had the presence of mind to take up his quarters here, and so we are finely lodged. No news to-night. It looks as if the arrangements for the investment of the town were going along quietly. To-morrow the chain will be complete, and then nobody will be able to come out of nor go into Paris.

The French have up to date made no attempt at treating, and I am very curious to know how it will end. We may perhaps have to sit down for weeks before Paris. The way things have been destroyed is too childish. Here, for instance, the piles of a bridge have been blown up, and thereby a large number of houses damaged.

We were not delayed by it, however, for the Bavarian Pontoon Section came up and built a bridge in the twinkling of an eye.

Palaiseau, September 19.

This day has been a very interesting one, for the Fifth Army Corps had to make its flank march round the southern side of Paris, and might easily have come upon serious difficulties. In the morning I had a great deal to do, and, as luck would have it, it had all to be undone. The Prince wished to go out through the park, but, unfortunately, had said nothing to me about his wishes. Gottberg wanted the crossing over the bridge, which had been somewhat indifferently constructed by the Bavarians, to be made as easy as possible, and had sent out covering parties. On the other hand, I wanted to move nearer

to Paris, through Villeneuve, and this is what we did ; but the second portion of the march was wrongly marked out, and there was endless confusion. The Crown Prince was very much displeased.

As we could hear the fire of cannon in the distance, we stepped out briskly, marching through the lovely valley of the Seine, dotted with villas and pretty country houses ; the weather was beautiful though somewhat warm.

At ten o'clock we crossed the Seine at Villeneuve-le-Roi, and tried to find the bivouacs of the Sixth Corps.

The corps had only encountered slight resistance after once passing across (a few skirmishes), but had been slightly incommoded by the presence of a newly raised field-work mounted with naval guns. This was at Villejuif. The casualties were but slight. Soon after twelve o'clock, as we were making a halt near La Vieille Post, we saw signs of a very severe cannonade and rifle fire in the direction of Sceaux—that is, in the direction of the Second Bavarian and the Fifth Corps.

We started to march off at once, and rode along the main-road that runs southwards to Antony, from which we could at least watch the fight from afar, and be in a position to receive instructions if necessary.

Had the French gained ground at all, the Sixth Corps would have been drawn into the fight.

The fight, however, remained stationary for a long time, and at three o'clock the Bavarians advanced against the new field-work near Chatillon. The

firing was soon silenced, and we were able, our minds now at ease, to return to our quarters at Palaiseau, with its beautiful park, but a house that had not been inhabited for a very long time. The orderly officers had to wait long for orders for the morrow, and I had to work late into the night, having much to do and many reports to send in to Moltke, etc. When we were with the Sixth Corps to-day, I learnt that the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, Jules Favre, had been there, that he had been very graciously received, and at that moment was in conference somewhere or other with Bismarck.

I felt boiling with indignation, and am sure that I could not have brought myself to discuss affairs with such a rank democrat who had made himself Minister; at the most, I should have sent my servants to interview him.

What will be the outcome of this confabulation the gods alone can tell. Practically speaking, there is nobody now who has a right to open negotiations, since the Empress and the young Prince Imperial have taken flight, and the new Republican Government is no Government at all, not having yet practically the powers of State in its hands.

The investment of Paris was completed to-day—that is to say, in so far as was required of the Third Army.

I have issued orders that no person is to be allowed to enter or leave the fortress. Owing, however, to the good-nature of our officers and men, this order will be very difficult to enforce. It is no easy matter to shoot down every person who will not immediately

obey. It is not every man who is morally capable of carrying out such an order.

Versailles, September 20.

A large proportion of our troops must of necessity live in bivouac close to the lines, about two-thirds being accommodated in cantonments—that is to say, in deserted houses. This gave me a lot of work to arrange this morning. The Staff officers and Engineer officers from every corps had been ordered to report to me to receive orders, and right glad was I at ten o'clock to see the last of them all.

I got a few hours' sleep, certainly, during the night, but my bed—on which I have not once had clean sheets—stank so that I was feeling quite sick from it. My work, however, has helped to drive the remembrance of it out of my nostrils.

At ten o'clock we started out to ride through the beautiful Bièvre Valley to the battlefield of yesterday, near Petit Bicêtre and Chatenay, to congratulate General von Hartmann on his fight of yesterday. We saw nine captured guns. He accompanied us to the captured field-work on Mont de la Tour, near Chatillon.

It is only half completed, but situated in such a commanding position that it is almost inconceivable that it should have been relinquished so soon, considering that it commands both the outlying works of Issy and Vanves. The French troops must be greatly demoralized.

The view from Mont de la Tour, looking completely over the city of Paris, is wonderfully fine, and we

could hardly tear ourselves away from it. We derived special satisfaction from hearing some shells and shot which had been aimed at us fly harmlessly over our heads.

The weather was perfectly clear—a warm September day.

At four o'clock in the afternoon we returned to Versailles, and took up our quarters at the magnificently appointed Préfecture.

Yesterday the Fifth Army Corps reported that the Mayor of Versailles had shown himself very amenable, and had given satisfactory guarantees, but had begged for our signature to peace overtures. To that I could not consent, as there was no question as yet about it, and therefore sent an order that both the Mayor and the town had to obey orders unconditionally; they would be treated with consideration, but all must lay down their arms.

We were received here by the Commandant of the National Guard, formerly a naval officer and related to the Lucks. It is indeed delightful to find ourselves once more cleanly and comfortably lodged.

The breakfast which this officer had ordered for us was most inviting.

September 21.

I slept splendidly, and now feel fit for anything that may come.

At nine o'clock the report from the Second Bavarian Corps arrived, stating that the field-work of Villejuif, which had been abandoned by the French, had been occupied by Bothmer's division of the Second

Bavarian Corps, and handed over to the Sixth Army Corps.

The French appear willing to abandon every thought of resistance beyond their actual forts.

In the course of the day came various rumours telling of civil war in Paris—not at all impossible, for the condition of affairs there must be most critical.

The whole proletariat and workpeople have been armed, and what that may lead to may easily be imagined.

The War Minister of Wurtemberg, Herr von Suckow, and Prince Pless came here to-day from the King's Headquarters. It looks as though Bismarck and Jules Favre were coming to terms about peace; but what the guarantees are to be I am most curious to learn.

It has been superb autumn weather, and to-day I took a walk with General Beauchamp-Walker, an English General, to the Trianon.

In the morning I went with the Crown Prince to the Picture-Gallery, which has been transformed into a hospital. There we met an Englishman, who found his way out of Paris two days ago. He told us that there were 500,000 men there well armed, who were drilling every day. He was half French, so we were able to discount what he said and smile.

September 22.

Still lovely, clear weather. As it appeared to us here that the negotiations between Bismarck and Jules Favre were in full progress—so it was stated in a letter received from Bismarck—the Crown Prince

determined to drive across to Ferrières to see the King. I was invited to accompany him. The drive was pretty, but, owing to the strong wind, very fatiguing.

In Ferrières we learnt that Jules Favre had been in treaty with us, but that the negotiations had come to nothing, as the French were unwilling to cede us any territory. They are incredibly short-sighted, and appear to live in hopes of improving their position by a continued resistance. Peace at any price ought to be their programme, in order to get rid of us as soon as possible.

In addition to Jules Favre, there was an emissary from Gambetta and one from the Empress.

It was interesting to hear that Bismarck insisted on carrying on the negotiations through an interpreter, so as for ever to put an end to the use of the French tongue, which would be considered an unjustifiable concession.

Ferrières, the country-seat of M. Rothschild, is the grandest that it is possible to imagine.

The magnificent apartments of the château are filled with furniture, of which each specimen is a masterpiece. The park, too, is magnificent, and laid out in the English style.

This night I slept on Prince Pless's bed, as he was away. I did not undress, but, nevertheless, slept splendidly. General Stosch also had quarters in the château.

In the evening I took tea with the King.

THEATRE of OPERATIONS ROUND PARIS
 — In 1870-71. —





Versailles, September 23.

In the morning I had a talk with General von Moltke about the further operations, and at ten o'clock an audience with the King. Then to breakfast, and at twelve o'clock back to Versailles.

On our return we found no news of importance, only a report that the enemy was marching down from Orleans and Tours upon us. I could only smile at the idea, as I do not believe it possible.

A Russian had been allowed to pass the advanced posts coming out from Paris, and was brought in to me.

Versailles, September 24.

The Russian was very talkative when I had him brought before me at twelve o'clock. He related many very interesting details about Paris, which were to me quite credible, inasmuch as they were confirmed from other quarters. Still, I cannot help thinking that the man was a spy, or at least an emissary from the besieged city. He was extraordinarily well posted in almost every detail of affairs.

He estimated the French in Paris at 450,000 armed men, full of determination to fight to the last, but quite unskilled in the use of arms, and powerless for offensive action. They were not likely to do more than continue to increase their defensive power and quietly await our attack.

I was kept at work incessantly till three o'clock ; then I took a lovely ride with Lenke (an officer on the General Staff) to Château Meudon, where we had a most beautiful view over the city. A continual fire

was being kept up between our guns and the forts, and we saw a mine exploded only some 800 paces in front of us. In the evening we had a most sociable dinner at the table of Voigts-Rhetz's brigade in the auberge, where many toasts were called and a good deal of wine consumed.

The Crown Prince was present.

Versailles, September 25.

Early this morning there was Sunday service in the park at Versailles, which I, unfortunately, was unable to attend, as I had too much to do.

I was much pleased to hear that we had discovered a telegraph cable in the bed of the Seine, and had dragged it up. Our telegraphists made connection at once, and now we are receiving all communications that pass from Paris to Tours, etc., and back. The greater part are in cipher, so we are not much the wiser. I will not have the cable destroyed, however, as we may be able to hit upon the key. We are all at work on it now.

In the afternoon I drove with the Prince to St. Germain, where we obtained the loveliest view from the terrace.

September 26.

Early this morning the Second Bavarian Corps was called to arms, as an unusual massing of troops was apparent at Vanves. It turned out to be nothing. At ten o'clock we held a sort of parade of all the troops cantoned round here for the presentation of

the Iron Cross. The Crown Prince stood near the statue of Louis XIV. Strange coincidence !

Still very beautiful weather. In the evening we rode to Meudon.

It became a good deal overcast, and I was afraid that the weather was about to change.

Another messenger bearing letters from Paris has been captured, and a balloon that rose out of the city dropped some letters, which we fortunately picked up.

These letters with one accord commenced in a tone of resignation. Their confidence seems to be disappearing. High time, too, for if Paris is to be saved she will have to conclude peace at any price. They cannot possibly gain anything by waiting, babble as they may of their stanch patriotism. The naked truth that all is lost must soon be apparent to everybody. To-day I had the library at St. Cloud searched for maps. Major Karnatz, of the General Staff, carried out the search, and discovered several, thank Heaven ! to help us out of our great difficulty, a want of maps. Elsewhere in France maps have been conspicuous by their absence, geography seeming a *terra incognita* with these people.

September 27.

The telegraph cable in the Seine has been cut by order of General von Moltke.

I had to talk severely to the cavalry divisions to-day, for the very indifferent supplies of provisions they have requisitioned of late, owing, it appears, to their dread of the Franc-tireurs, who have been

very active and aggressive. They will, however, be just as great a pest to France as to us, if not more.

To-day the weather was quite autumnal and beautifully clear. In the afternoon we rode with the Crown Prince to St. Cloud, and reached the château, in spite of the warnings of General Bothmer, and we were not shot. It was most interesting, with its beautiful decorations and furniture, and I sat me down in the Empress Eugénie's toilet-room, on her beautiful snow-white silken sofa.

The rooms were almost exactly as the Emperor had left them.

They must have noticed us in the building, for as we left a desultory fire broke out upon us from rifles and wall-pieces.

As the French lines on the opposite bank of the Seine are bristling with defences fully armed, and the sentries keep a look-out like watch-dogs, our advanced posts often come in for a peppering.

We rode very rapidly home, and I found myself extremely fatigued.

September 28.

Again this morning I had so much to do, especially in the matter of the directions which had to be given to the cavalry divisions on the subject of requisitioning supplies, that at one o'clock I was nearly dead.

An English Queen's Messenger, Captain Johnson, was brought in to me. He had just arrived from Paris. It appears that order is still maintained there, but there is a terrible scarcity of milk, butter, vege-

tables, and such things beginning to make itself felt.

Johnson told me that the French Colonel in command at the Vanves gate was willing to let him pass, but had much difficulty in keeping his men in order, who levelled their rifles and revolvers at Johnson's breast, shouting out, 'The aristocrats must not leave us now. They must share our privations,' etc.

This sort of terrorism appears to be gaining ground.

In the afternoon we took a lovely ride to St. Germain to enjoy the glorious view.

September 29.

At two o'clock in the morning I was awaked by Lenke with a telegram in his hand from General von Hartmann, saying that at 5.30 a new field-work near Notre Dame de Clamart will have to be attacked, as active work was going on there. I had to wake up the Prince and issue some orders, lest the firing should lead to a further development of fighting than was desirable.

Lenke was despatched to the Second Bavarian Corps, but before mid-day it became evident that the scare was nothing—a false alarm. So my beautiful morning sleep had been interrupted for nothing.

Colonel Perponcher had been here to ask whether the King's Headquarters could be accommodated in Versailles. We shall, I suppose, have to move out of our beautiful palace and seek some humbler abode.

I do not mind that so much, but the close proximity of the King's Headquarters has its drawbacks, especially for me, as I have not always sufficient

command over myself to return the diplomatic or evasive answer to all the unnecessary questions and unsolicited conundrums set to solve.

I am afraid that I shall become again somewhat caustic or brusque without wishing to be so, and shall get myself disliked.

In the afternoon I took a beautiful ride in company with the Crown Prince to Sartory and the Park of Versailles.

Versailles, September 30.

At five o'clock this morning the Crown Prince drove over to Versailles, as to-day is the Queen's birthday. I rose at seven o'clock. A report came in early of heavy firing in the neighbourhood of Sèvres and Villejuif, making us all very anxious. Soon we received confirmation of these reports, and wounded men began to come in. It appears that the French had made an assault at several points at daybreak.

That at Sèvres was made with three battalions and four gunboats. At Bas Meudon our outposts (two battalions of the 7th Regiment and the 5th Rifle Battalion) were, it appears, somewhat taken by surprise, but, nevertheless, the enemy was driven back handsomely. Between nine and ten all was ended. We had one man killed and fifteen wounded, mostly by shell-fire.

At Villejuif they advanced with twelve battalions of regulars, keeping twelve battalions of the Garde Mobile in reserve. The advanced posts of the Sixth Corps were most energetically and resolutely attacked. These received the attack, however, with equal resolu-

tion, and drove their assailants back into their entrenchments. The French lost between 400 and 500 men captured, and at least 1,000 in dead and wounded. Our loss was by no means insignificant — five officers killed, and, it seems, nearly 200 men wounded. The Crown Prince, who happened to be driving in that neighbourhood, mounted his horse and took part in the action.

At ten o'clock all firing was over, even that of the guns in the forts. At about eleven o'clock a.m. the Eleventh Corps also had to withstand an attack from Vincennes and Charenton, but only of a very insignificant character, as the enemy withdrew after a short time.

A cannonade was also heard in the direction of Montmartre. What the French hope to gain by so many simultaneous attacks on our lines is not very clear.

Our lines are so weakly held that, if the enemy should attack at one point with the whole of his force concentrated, we must be beaten back and have our line cut through. Fortunately, he does not understand his business, and wastes his strength striking out blindly in all directions. His thirst for fighting must, however, soon leave him when he finds that he always gets blow for blow. The Franc-tireurs are beginning to be very troublesome and cheeky, swarming round us in bands like robbers. The inhabitants have even begun to beg for Prussian troops to be quartered on them, as a protection against these bandits.

The officers who were taken prisoners say that the regular troops were compelled to advance by the Garde-mobiles, who threatened to fire upon them. A pretty state of affairs !

In the forenoon a balloon sailed over Versailles scattering proclamations. In the afternoon, in company with several officers, I rode through the beautiful wood of Meudon, to see the field-work thrown up by the Bavarians. We were not hit, but on our way home Captain Lenke had an ugly fall—horse and all—into a ditch, and was for a time in some danger of his life. In the evening we had a grand tattoo, the weather being superb. Herr von Brachitsch, the Prussian Prefect, has arrived.

Versailles, October 1.

All as still as can be this morning, as though the French were exhausted by the fights of yesterday. That at Chevilly was more severe than we had supposed. In the Sixth Army Corps there were eight officers killed and fifteen wounded. At the outposts nothing new of importance. A few reported attacks by Franc-tireurs only.

In the afternoon we had a lovely ride to the Observatory at Malmaison, from which we could command Mont Valerien. On our return we found the Crown Prince already here. He gave us news of the approach of reinforcements from the Thirteenth and the newly-formed Fourteenth Corps.

Another Englishman has come in through the outposts. With the consent of Count Bismarck, I sent in the American General Burnside, with Colonel Forbes, to the Embassy in Paris. Lieutenant von Bissing, who accompanied the mission under a flag of truce, was nearly shot by the French, in spite of the safeguard.

October 2.

Early this morning we had Church Service in the open air in the Park of Versailles. The weather is most beautiful, and the air very clear. At the out-posts only a few shots were exchanged. I had to interview several people, among them the Mayor, and some Americans and English. In the afternoon I took a good rest, and allowed the Crown Prince to ride to Malmaison with other members of the Staff. In the evening several letters from the King's Headquarters arrived, which gave me no information beyond what I already knew. Everything had already been done as prescribed therein.

We are now to have two new corps, the Thirteenth and Fourteenth, added to the army, so that I shall have to send, daily, orders and instructions to twelve different bodies of troops, and make provision of all sorts for them. This is really too much for one man, especially if he has to attend to all sorts of superfluous advice from other quarters. Soon our army will have reached a total of 250,000 men, without counting that of the Crown Prince of Saxony.

The Villa, Versailles,

October 3.

Early this morning I was greatly rejoiced to receive a telegram saying that Agnes* had been safely delivered of a boy on the 30th, the day of the fight.

At half-past nine we rode out to the drill-ground at Sartory, to hold an inspection parade of the Fifth and

* The Field-Marshal's youngest daughter.

Sixth Cavalry Divisions. A splendid spectacle. I afterwards rode to our new billet, as we have to leave the Préfecture on account of the arrival of the King, who is expected at once.

I am not at all sorry for the change, for here in a villa belonging to the family Walther it is extremely comfortable and cheerful, and the beautiful little park most enjoyable. I remained at home this morning and worked, whilst the Crown Prince drove across to St. Cyr.

Towards evening the Americans, General Burnside and Colonel Forbes, came in, having returned from Paris, evidently, as intermediaries, as they expected to meet Bismarck here. The Crown Prince invited them in to the mid-day meal, at which the conversation was very general and interesting. It transpired that Jules Favre had said to Burnside that he could clearly see that, to save Paris and France, they would have to accept Prussia's demands, and yield up territory to her. It was, however, impossible for him and his Government to do so without being overthrown; hence the solution seemed to be to elect a new Government which could conclude a peace. In a word, an armistice was earnestly desired, to allow the people to hold an election, after which peace would inevitably follow. Without it France would be irretrievably ruined.

I am very curious to know what will be the outcome. In such a contingency they will have to deliver up one or two forts at least.

October 4.

Splendid weather still, but no news. In the afternoon I took a delightful drive with the Crown Prince to St. Germain. The air wonderfully clear.

October 5.

This morning we drove out, at eight o'clock, to meet the King on his way hither through Villeneuve and St. Georges. He intended to take the Sixth Army Corps on his way, and review the troops.

When we reached Chatenay we heard heavy firing, and concluded that the enemy was making a determined attack upon Meudon. We drove to General von Hartmann's and listened to the cannonade. It ceased after an hour, and we were then able to continue on our way.

Soon after twelve o'clock the King arrived, and breakfasted in Villeneuve-le-Roi.

Afterwards we rode past all the troops drawn up to receive His Majesty, who gave him hearty cheers. We then took our seats in the carriages, and drove past the lines of the Bavarian Corps, reaching Versailles at six o'clock dead tired.

The King took his meals here with the Crown Prince, as his field-kitchen had broken down.

The violent cannonade of this morning caused us no loss whatever. It is almost incredible that a man of His Majesty's age should be capable of standing fatigue in the way he does, whilst we all get knocked up.

October 6.

The owner of this villa is called Frau André, *née* Walther. She must be very rich ; her husband was banker to Louis Philippe.

This morning early I received several despatches, telling me that Prince Albert cannot advance further with his cavalry, as the woods north of Orleans are strongly held by the enemy. Twelve battalions, three regiments of cavalry, and some batteries of artillery, were seen as well as other columns of troops, and they were doing their best to repair the railway. As important movements had been reported to be taking place in the fortress itself, and a concentration in the direction of Sèvres observed, I came to the conclusion that a determined assault was in course of preparation on the part of the regular troops, in order to break our line and form a junction with the Army of the Loire. With this prospect in view, I approached General von Moltke when he appeared at half-past five, and proposed that a force consisting of the First Bavarian Corps, supported by the Twenty-second Division (Von Wittich), together with the three cavalry divisions, the whole under General von der Tann, should move against the Army of the South and give it a sound drubbing. Dispositions were accordingly made, so that the corps should be at Arpajon to-night, there to await the enemy or march to meet him.

At mid-day we drove with the King to the park at Versailles, visited the hospital, and enjoyed the sight of the fountains in Trianon. I had a talk with Moltke and Podbielski, and hoped that all was in

progress. In the evening, to my great joy, Fritz arrived, looking very fit and cheery.

At last I have received a letter from my wife, giving details of Agnes's confinement.

The Villa, Versailles, October 7.

In the forenoon I had a conference with General Schulz and Colonel Rieff, at which I saw clearly that we three together could conduct the siege, or, rather, the formal attack on the fortress, properly and in complete accord. Yesterday Podbielski said to me that the matter would be placed in our hands entirely, and that we should receive written instruction at once. To-day, however, everything has been altered. Why, I should like to know? I fancy that there are several who want to have their say in the matter, and this they would not have were it put into my hands. It is really most extraordinary that, in spite of the fact that Moltke and I continually come to an agreement on certain points, there invariably steps in between us some third person, so that matters are eventually arranged quite otherwise than I expected. It may be that he is prevented from acting exactly as he wishes.

At 12.30 I drove with the Crown Prince to the Préfecture, where we were joined by the King. We then drove (a perfectly beautiful drive it was) to St. Germain, where we enjoyed the lovely view, and afterwards partook of a splendid dinner at the Hôtel de Pavillon. During the whole time the guns at Mont Valerien kept up a brisk cannonade, as though

they had been part of a firework display in our honour.

This seems to be the last day of this beautiful autumn-tide, for as soon as we had inspected the castle, with its art collection and curiosities, and had betaken ourselves homewards, the rain commenced. We reached our villa at six o'clock.

After dinner I was annoyed somewhat by the arrival of Major von Hahnke, who had been sent with General von der Tann to hurry him up. He reported that the General intended to remain fast at Arpajon, unless he received specific instructions to the contrary.

With considerable difficulty, I succeeded in persuading the Crown Prince of the necessity that lay on us of pushing forward and hurling back the enemy with his troublesome Franc-tireurs. He gave me permission to carry out my scheme provided I obtained Moltke's consent. I sent off Hahnke forthwith. Moltke consented at once, in spite of the interference of several meaner spirits who always like to have a finger in the pie.

Until very late in the night I was engaged in dictating and despatching telegrams, and to-morrow Von der Tann will have to move forward.

October 8.

Early this morning Hahnke started off. I had a fairly quiet morning, but had to arrange for the arrival of the Eleventh Corps, which comes in to-morrow to fill up the gap at Meudon.

At mid-day the joyful news arrived that we had

succeeded in beating back a sortie from Metz, which had been expected for some time.

General Burnside came to me again with a note from Count Bismarck, giving him permission to traverse the outposts and pass into Paris. He gave me to understand that it was for the purpose of opening negotiations. Captain Lenke accompanied him.

In the afternoon I rode with the Crown Prince in the Park of Trianon, and in spite of our waterproofs we got thoroughly wet to the skin.

The previous night I had been woke up to read a telegram, according to which the French were expected to be about to blow up a bridge near Chatou, in the lines of the Fourth Corps. It seemed ridiculous to me, and I accordingly rolled over in my bed and dropped asleep again at once. I had no cause to regret it. At the mid-day meal here were present the officers detailed by the King to make a reconnaissance of the front to be attacked. They were Generals von Hindersin and Schulz and Colonel Rieff.

October 9.

I enjoyed a splendid night's rest, and was not once disturbed.

The weather is still very wet, but warm.

Yesterday the happy news arrived that General Werder, who is advancing with the Baden contingent southwards towards the Seine, came upon a French Corps d'Armée, completely routing it. It is to be hoped that a similar telegram will reach us to-morrow from Von der Tann.

At ten o'clock we had service in the beautiful

chapel of the castle, which, by the way, strange as it may seem, has no chance.

Several interesting pieces of intelligence, which I unfortunately cannot commit to paper, came to my hearing.

In the afternoon I rode out alone, and on my return (again drenched to the skin) discovered, to my joy, a good fire in the grate.

Two spies were seated at the fire, and were being examined.

The King took his mid-day meal with us. Afterwards Duke Eugene of Wurtemberg arrived, bringing in his train two spies taken at St. Germain, together with a large letter-bag, which has been ransacked to-day, and is now being examined. All the officers are in the orderly-room studying the correspondence and cross-questioning these gallows-birds. They have come from Belgium, and were trying to get into Paris.

October 10.

Early this morning the order arrived from the King's Cabinet that the Third Army is to undertake the management of the attack on the fortress. I only hope it will not be as it was at Düppel and Alsen, where I had to do all the work and others reaped all the fruit. I have no great yearning for the job, but if it is to be done, and the affair entrusted to me, I do not wish, neither shall I permit, others to put in their oars.

From General von der Tann came the news that only unimportant skirmishes had taken place, and

that the enemy appears to be withdrawing, Franc-tireurs and all, in the direction of Orleans.

It is to be hoped that Von der Tann will put a goodly fear into their hearts when he appears.

It seems to be the wish at Headquarters that the Twenty-second Division should return from before Orleans, and that Tann should go on with the rest. I am certain that nothing will convince the French sooner of our power than the knowledge that we can prevent the formation on their part of new armies. This morning we heard heavy gun as well as rifle fire, chiefly from the Fourth Army Corps. I had so much to do that I was hardly able to go out. We lunched at the King's table.

October 11.

Early this morning I received a telegram from Von der Tann, in which he says that yesterday, near Artenay, north of Orleans, he put to flight a force of the enemy of about the strength of a division, and made about 1,500 prisoners. Towards mid-day Stulpnagel arrived, having ridden from the field, and gave us the details of the fight. I was very much pleased to hear all about it, as I had had so much difficulty in getting this expedition sanctioned, and am naturally rejoiced that it should be turning out so well.

From nine till half-past ten we sat in conference about the means to be adopted in the attack on the fortress ; we separated with a complete understanding. I have again to-day worked myself tired, and was really pleased when I was able to get away and take a ride with some other officers to the Empress's Kiosk.

In the evening Bismarck dined here. I sat next him, and in conversation he told me a great number of most interesting things. The French appear as a whole to wish to come to terms, but Bismarck seems to have a large number of factions to deal with.

October 12.

At mid-day came a telegram reporting a new victory of General von der Tann, and his entry into Orleans yesterday. Our Eleventh Corps fought splendidly. In the afternoon I took a ride alone in the park. At mid-day Moltke and the General Staff arrived. After they had gone I wrote a letter to Tann regarding further operations towards Tours and Bourges, where there are large arsenals and artillery parks. At 9.30 came Hahnke with details of the battle.

October 13.

To-day at the conference Count Solms was present. We discussed many things foreign to the subject in hand, and especially the annexation of Alsace. The Crown Prince spoke most earnestly, and with so much emotion of the dangers that might arise out of Alsace, that I at once concluded that the Duke of Coburg and Professor Samwer must have been with him and worked on his feelings.

In the afternoon a French attack on the Bavarians took place with about twenty battalions. After an hour's cannonade and brisk musketry-fire the enemy was driven back. I took a ride with Albrecht, Bronsart, and Gustedt, in the Park of Trianon.

October 14.

This morning all was quiet. At guard-mounting at twelve o'clock I learned the details of yesterday's fight. The Bavarians lost about 100 men. It looks as though the French are trying to accustom themselves to war by making daily attacks on us. They set fire with their shells to the Château de St. Cloud. It was most meritorious on the part of our men, that, in spite of the shell-fire, they should have tried to extinguish the flames ; and when this was not possible, they saved all they could of the contents of the castle. Unfortunately, all the beautiful pictures were destroyed by fire, and to-day the château is a mass of ruins. Such folly on the part of the French would be inexplicable, were it not known that in one of the forts a Red Republican was in command, and did his best to destroy the favourite seat of his Emperor.

In the afternoon I rode with the Crown Prince to Villa Stern, near St. Cloud, or rather Ville d'Avray, from whence we were able to get a delightful view of that part of Paris, and those forts which now particularly interest us. Strangely enough, an attack was made by the French not a thousand yards from us, upon the works at Montretout, and the redoubt occupied, but relinquished after half an hour. We neither saw nor heard a thing.

Fritz was here to breakfast. He came to get provisions. He is now with Oetinger* at Sartrouville.

A spy from St. Germain had a wonderful story to relate of subterranean passages leading to Paris and

* A brother-in-law of the Field-Marshal.

Mont Valerien. Lieutenant von Ivernois actually found something of the sort, and penetrated about a hundred yards or so into it.

At dinner-time a telegram arrived from Von der Tann at Orleans, saying that he is not moving further forwards, as the enemy has concentrated at Bourges and entrenched himself. I should have pressed forward, nevertheless. Perhaps, though, he is right, and I must now arrange with Headquarters to have General von Werder directed from Rambervilliers on Bourges, instead of on Paris, so as to make a combined attack in conjunction with Von der Tann. There is an envoy from Bazaine in Metz here. I don't know what he wants. The siege operations are in a forward state of preparation. Nearly 100 pieces of heavy ordnance have arrived. We are expecting gabions. Two balloons have been sent. These I look upon as playthings.

October 15.

The usual morning's work. At one o'clock I drove with the King and the Crown Prince to the outposts at Garches, whence we could see the Montretout redoubt well. It was a little hazy, notwithstanding a good breeze. Colonel Lindsay, an Englishman, came to us from Paris, but, being bound by his word, was able to give us but little information.

He was able, however, generally, to confirm our impressions. They have about two months' provisions left in the city. All is quiet there. There is no talk of surrender. The Government, or whoever talks about surrendering territory, does so at the risk of

everything. The Government cannot, therefore, treat of its own free will, whatever that may happen to be.

In the evening I had a great deal of writing and dictating to do. Captain Bronsart stands by me most loyally.

As Tann has not yet moved out of Orleans, and the enemy, profiting by several days of respite, must be reorganizing, concentrating, and most likely entrenching himself, a general advance on our part must at all risks be undertaken. I have accordingly written to Tann to remain on the defensive in Orleans, and keep with him the two cavalry divisions. General Wittich is to form flying columns from his division, and sweep the country round Châteaudun, Chartres, and Dreux, clear of the enemy, and then return here. Prince Albert of Saxony is to unite with him.

A mass of other orders had to be sent out, and it was very late before I sought my bed, dead beat.

The envoy from Bazaine returns to-morrow, without having accomplished his mission.

October 16.

This morning Colonel Rieff came to me, to have a talk over the dispositions for the siege. According to his showing, we still require a large number of guns of heavy calibre, to make an assault feasible, as the enemy can bring to bear a large number of ships' guns of the heaviest metal. At present we are almost entirely deficient of ammunition, and as we have only one line of railway at our disposal, from which we have to bring everything by cart for a distance of at least fifty-six miles, it will be a consider-

able time before the attack can commence, probably two or three weeks. I could see that Rieff was right.

When once we commence firing, we must not—like inconstant children—break off our task unfinished. We must have the means of making success a certainty, otherwise a bombardment of the forts will damage us as much as them. It will, however, be very difficult to satisfy the inquiries of the ignorant and put a stop to idle talk.

At eleven o'clock three battalions of the Landwehr Division of the Guards marched out, past the King, to St. Germain. It was a beautiful sight. We received at the same time the joyful news of the entry into Soissons. Also we heard from Prince Frederick Charles that it looked as though the final chapter at Metz were within measurable distance.

At guard-mounting parade I heard that the losses of the Second Bavarian Corps on the 13th amounted to nearly 400 men. I called attention to the necessity for a greater exercise of forethought, and some organized scheme of meeting such sorties in the future, and specially to the proper employment of infantry and artillery in resisting these attacks.

In the afternoon I was so busy that I hardly had time to go into the garden. My door was being opened and shut continuously the whole time. The presence of the King's Headquarters in my neighbourhood means interruptions without end. Reports are required about everything, and every moment that a telegram arrives (and these are legion) I have to think who ought to be informed the first, so that this

personage may not receive the news sooner or later than that personage, and that nobody may have cause for complaint. People, I am told, expect to hear things even before the news arrives here !

Curiosity and impatience are the chief demons with which I have to deal, and these annoy me so intensely that I am often prompted to return a sarcastic answer, or make some bitter retort, for, after all, I have a good deal of the Bélow* blood in me.

Among other important information received to-day, I heard from a French prisoner of war, who was brought to me at about seven o'clock by Count Bothmer, some news which confirmed our own observations, namely, that in the course of the next few days we may expect a sortie on a very large scale, which may decide the course of the campaign. Many signs—among others, the withdrawal of the regular troops from the forts, and the substitution of Gardes-mobiles in their place—point to a possible attempt to-morrow, or more probably the day after to-morrow. If the latter, it will be a grand celebration of our Crown Prince's birthday !

This sortie, which will most likely be made against the lines somewhere about Chatillon and Bagneux, will be met by something like fifty or five-and-fifty battalions, and a very strong force of artillery.

October 17.

No sortie has taken place to-day, but, then, my spy from St. Germain has given us either to-day, to-morrow, or the next few days to expect it.

* The Field-Marshal's mother was a Von Bélow.

Lieutenant Ivernois was with me, and brought me most valuable information from a spy, who has offered to go once more into Paris. He thinks that daily communication could take place with Paris, namely, through Argenteuil.

At one o'clock I drove with the King and the Crown Prince to the Villa Stern, near Ville d'Avray, whence we had a most splendid view in bright, clear air.

At mid-day the War Minister was here.

We are all on the *qui vive*, awaiting the enemy's sortie for to-morrow. We shall be able to bring up more than sixty battalions and over 300 guns, and hope to beat him handsomely, and hurl him back into his lines.

October 18.

The sortie has not taken place. All quiet. To-day is the birthday of His Royal Highness the Crown Prince. At eight o'clock three massed bands appeared, and commenced with the hymn 'Nun danket alle Gott.' My feelings were quite overcome by the music, and when the Crown Prince entered my room suddenly, and, with the kindest and most gracious expressions of gratitude, handed to me the Iron Cross of the First Class, I quite broke down, and could not utter a word.

At twelve o'clock all the officers in Versailles, and our own Staff, came to offer congratulations. A beautiful sight it was, the weather being superb. About a score of crosses of the first class were distributed. A grand déjeuner followed, at which the King and some eighteen Princes sat down. In the

afternoon I rode with several officers to the siege-train park. In the evening a big dinner at the King's table.

Several reports have come in, from which it would appear that the enemy is receiving daily reinforcements at Châteaudun, Chartres, and Maintenon. He is even being reinforced by rail from Tours. I fancy he intends to combine an attack from that direction with a sortie from Paris. We must certainly drive him away from there. He is only sixteen miles off. Near Rouen we hear of the concentration of some 25,000 of the Gardes-mobiles.

General Werder is moving southwards on Besançon. The enemy appears to be flying before him in the direction of Dijon and Belfort.

In the evening my orderly, Hauschild, returned, bringing with him from Orleans some newspapers and captured letters. Near Maintenon the enemy is in great strength.

In the evening, between ten and eleven o'clock, we heard a very heavy cannonade and rifle-fire in the direction of Meudon.

They try to make out at Headquarters that the populace in Paris is calling for a grand sortie, but that General Trochu will not hear of it, and certainly will not accept responsibility for it.

Comte Richmont, whom I wanted to have arrested, has bolted from St. Germain.

Villa les Ombrages, October 19.

This is the name of our villa. No sortie yet. Weather beginning to get dull and close.

At eight o'clock a telegram arrived from Orleans, according to which Wittich attacked Châteaudun yesterday, and stormed the suburbs. It was not, however, possible to force the barricades of the town. To-morrow the attack is to be renewed.

Towards mid-day another telegram from Von der Tann, saying that he thinks he cannot remain longer at Orleans, as a very strong force of the enemy is collecting at Gien on the Loire. I have telegraphed him to stand fast for the present. As yet he is in no danger, as the enemy has not yet concentrated, and is still thirty-two miles from him. There will be no sortie from Paris, as General Trochu is averse to it. I am sending my spy into Paris to-day to bring me the proclamation from Trochu on this subject, as well as any newspapers he can get.

In the afternoon I rode with Bronsart in the park.

A telegram came from Wittich at Châteaudun, saying that he had entered the town at three o'clock this morning, and had captured many prisoners. His losses are not heavy.

This evening I got an orderly ready to go with Xylander to Tann at Orleans.

In front of Villejuif the French continue to fortify themselves strongly.

The Bavarians had a quiet morning; only a lot of women came out to dig potatoes, but were not interfered with.

I have sent an order to the china factory at Sèvres to have the beautiful French models of porcelain work removed and sent to Berlin for preservation, which will be a very desirable move, as we cannot copy them.

October 20.

During the night there was a small fight at Villejuif, but happily it did not disturb me.

At nine o'clock General Schulz and Colonel von Rieff came here to hold a conference on the subject of the establishment of the first ten siege batteries, also the details of the siege park, its protection, etc. We were unanimous on these subjects.

They say that during the night of the 18th some shots were fired from Forts Romaineville, Rosny and Nogent into the city. Internal strife is now beginning, it is to be hoped.

From Metz we have news that all is going well. At Charlebourg, opposite Bezons, it is reported that the French have been working at their new redoubt. There is no doubt that the French are very adroit at making these redoubts, and they are of great value. They are greatly improving in their work, too, and must be employing their best officers on them. They are adopting the plan of pushing their fortifications further and further forwards, so as to make our work of investment more and more difficult. It is difficult enough as it is, goodness knows !

This should be our keynote, namely, to lay stress upon starvation, rather than bombardment, as the actual means to be adopted for reducing the garrison. It is quite possible for us to starve them out, and within a few months. Their sorties cannot be really dangerous to us now, as their army is still feeling the influence of its recent defeats ; and even should it after a time receive moral support and be strengthened in tone, we also by that time will have been reinforced

materially. As for succour from a newly-formed army, that we need never fear. It would be months before one could be raised and organized that would stand a chance of success in an attack upon us. It is, therefore, a matter of great moment to us to hinder and obstruct the formation of new armies as much as ever we are able. This policy would more easily be carried out if we did not give so much consideration to weakening the investment line, but organized more often flying columns, like that recently sent to Orleans.

I would, for instance, despatch an expedition of at least two Army Corps to Tours, to drive out the governing body from thence, and break up the force which is being organized there.

According to latest reports, the French are concentrating all their regular troops at Tours. They will have to be hunted out.

This afternoon I rode with Bronsart and Albrecht to the outpost line near the Jägers Redoubt, and got a splendid view of Paris.

October 21.

To-day I had a somewhat quiet morning, and began to calculate how long it would take before we could make any decided impression on the fortress. I do not think that we can hope for the bombardment of Forts Issy, Vanves, and Montrouge before the 10th of November. There are still endless preparations to be made.

The forts will then have to be bombarded for at least four or five days, sapping pushed on, and batteries established in the second position. The two

forts, Issy and Vanves, can then be assaulted by storm on the 1st of December.

The real difficulties of the situation will then only begin—namely, the attack on the enceinte.

If we do succeed in capturing the enceinte by storm, it could not be before the 1st of January—a result which the mere investment of the fortress should bring about of itself by that date. It is impossible that Paris can be provisioned for so long.

I am of opinion that we ought not to think of a bombardment, but trust entirely to starvation for its reduction, protecting ourselves from without by lines of circumvallation of some kind.

I submitted this view to the Crown Prince, and then drove across to see Moltke about it. He agreed with me entirely, and considered that it would never come to be a question of bombardment, as the French would be starved out long before that could arise.

I drove away well pleased, and had hardly taken my breakfast, when a tremendous cannonade broke out from Mont Valerien. Soon the news arrived that the enemy had made a sortie with about ten battalions, a large force of artillery, and some cavalry. The Crown Prince rode off at once, and I followed ; but, seeing that he was going to the King, and not wanting to join the great entourage, I sped off towards Vaucresson and the Empress's Kiosk. Bronsart and Hahnke were with me. We got right into the shell-fire, but could see nothing except the enemy's reserves on Mont Valerien. They appear to have attacked with a strong division, and nearly forty guns and cavalry.

The fight lasted about two hours, and was very spirited, until the enemy withdrew under the guns of Mont Valerien.

We had about eight or nine battalions and two guns engaged.

The Guards-Landwehr made prisoners two officers and 100 men, and drove the enemy out of Malmaison. The 50th Regiment (Fifth Army Corps) took two guns and several prisoners.

The sortie was completely repulsed, but who knows that he will not attempt another one to-morrow? From what the prisoners say, there is another heavy sortie in preparation.

As soon as the fight was over, I rode to the aqueduct at Marly, where I met the King and the Crown Prince. Then, in the highest spirits, we rode home at a sharp trot. I was tired to death, and was glad to get to bed.

October 22.

Good news from Metz. The fortress will surrender in a few days, owing to want of provisions. Our situation will then be quite changed. We shall get another 100,000 men here, and then we shall be able to make strong expeditions far afield.

I had to work the whole day, and was only able to take a walk towards evening to the great lake.

This endless sending of news to the Headquarters is very worrying, especially when subjects which may be termed veritable tomfooleries are in question.

Everyone comes to me, wanting to know something or to have something altered, and a great many

demands are too childish to mention. It prostitutes my position, and puts me sometimes in a towering rage.

In the evening Xylander and the orderly returned to Versailles. The enemy appears to be concentrating about Blois. Wittich remains in Chartres, and wants to send only a flying column to Dreux. I think he is right, and shall to-morrow send him orders to remain at Chartres. Tann and Wittich have sent me valuable information, which, corroborated as it is by the confessions of prisoners, clears up the situation considerably. Paris appears to contain about four weeks' provisions. Among the regular troops, as among the Mobiles, there is a great longing for peace. The 'man in the street,' however, wants war to the knife, and, if one is to believe in his fanfaronade, would sooner die than part with territory.

Paris is quite quiet. Still, the National Guard and the Government are not friendly towards one another, nor do the regular troops and the Gardes-mobiles fraternize much—that is to say, those in the forts and outside the city limits.

The Government of the country, which is at Tours, spreads abroad falsehoods, and excites the people to resistance.

The localities when captured by us show themselves peaceful and submissive enough, but as soon as our backs are turned they are filled with Franc-tireurs and Gardes-mobiles, who wage a guerilla warfare—a style of fighting with which we are now only too well acquainted.

October 23.

Early this morning came reports from Wittich in Chartres. He is going to remain there and send out flying columns to Dreux. I am quite with him, and intend in the next few days, if possible, to reunite the troops which are in Orleans and Chartres, to reinforce them whenever I can, and send them on an expedition against Blois and Tours. This nest must be smoked out. The Crown Prince has consented to my plan, and now I have sent Bronsart to Moltke to communicate it to him.

I am sure he will have no objection, but it is to me like a millstone round my neck that I am not allowed to do anything independently, but always have to sound others, and make all sorts of inquiries, lest objections should be raised in the circles of the highest and most august. In a word, our wings are cut and we are pinioned, and if anything serious has to be carried out, it is only our luck and le Bon Dieu that we shall have to thank if we succeed.

Rheinbaben was with me at 9.30, and reported that General von Redern had advanced to Vernon as ordered, but had met with considerable resistance, and after losing one officer and ten men had been obliged to retire on Mantes. I have nothing to object, and he must remain stationary if the enemy is too strong for him.

Bronsart returned with the information that Moltke quite agrees with my proposals, and now the affair will soon be *en train*.

Reports showered in to-day. There has been a

veritable November fog all day, but I was able to get out for a walk in the evening.

After dinner Lancken arrived from Chartres and gave us a gruesome description of the entry into Châteaudun. The village was burnt to the ground. It must have been a terrible conflict, and the artillery played dreadful havoc.

October 24.

To-day was quite cold and wintry. Metz has not yet fallen. The enemy was quite quiet to-day, the potato-diggers alone increasing in numbers in front of Clamart and Chatillon. Among them quite a number of well-dressed women. Some who came too near were warned back, and told that unless they obeyed they would be fired upon; whereupon they fell on their knees and prayed that they might be allowed to have their potatoes; they would prefer death by shooting to starvation. A cheerful prospect for us in the future, when they come out by thousands! What are we to do? There is nothing for it but to shoot them down, unless peace is proclaimed first.

General Tann has reported that he has given M. Thiers a safe-conduct to Versailles. This looks like the commencement of negotiations.

This afternoon I took a ride with Bronsart and Bronikowski in the park. After dinner, when we came out, it looked as though the whole heavens were on fire. All rushed out, and witnessed the most beautiful Aurora Borealis that I ever saw in my life. Almost the whole vault of heaven was one mass of blood-red colour, a magnificent spectacle.

October 25.

Nothing new this morning. A letter from Wittich, according to which all is going on well at Chartres. There is a report here that Schlettstadt has fallen—2,400 prisoners and 120 guns captured. At Metz things are not going so happily, and here, too, the starvation tactics do not promise too early a conclusion. Human beings can hold out a very long time when they have a will, and that they seem indeed to have here.

In spite of the wet weather I went out for a short walk.

Shortly before dinner came the news that Werder had encountered the French near Besançon, and beaten them handsomely, taking prisoner fifteen officers and 180 men.

At mid-day Bismarck was here with the foreign Ministers.

I sat with Bismarck after dinner on a sofa, and he unfolded to me his ideas of German unity, namely, that the German principle must dominate, and all others be subjective. He argued most clearly, succinctly, and logically, drawing his inspiration from history, and confirming his argument by reference to the happy fusion of Germans and Slavs in our older provinces. What was especially new to me in politics was the idea that Russia was gradually receding from Germany, a contingency much to be desired by all Germans, though she will never do anything without us. He told me, too, that the Spaniards now wanted to have the Hohenzollern as King. According to the despatches which he received to-day, England is

seriously contemplating mediation, and very likely Thiers will be here to-morrow.

October 26.

Another awful day of rain. The night was undisturbed.

At eleven I drove with Gottberg to General von Moltke, whose seventieth birthday it is. There we met the Crown Prince of Saxony. I discussed with Moltke the course of future operations, and found him of the same mind as myself. In a few days we shall have the Fourth Division with us, and then I shall be able to bring the whole of the Guards-Landwehr to the neighbourhood of St. Germain and move the Fourth Division to Lonjumeau. We shall then have a little more security here, and at Lonjumeau a strong reserve, which can be employed later on in a westerly direction.

Nothing new of importance to-day. In the afternoon Mont Valerien did some bellowing. In the evening I took a walk in the rain to the great basin, which is not far from our house.

The Crown Prince of Saxony had heard from several sources that shots had been fired into Paris yesterday afternoon, and that from Montmartre particularly some had been dropped into the city.

It must have been an illusion.

After dinner I had to deal with a troublesome matter connected with the commissariat. Sandrart reported to me that the men do not always get full rations, and that an army order issued to-day was causing some ill feeling and discontent. The order

given was that each corps should provide itself with potatoes and corn, the former to be dug up, the latter threshed out by the corps. Such an arrangement opens the gate to all sorts of confusion and irregularities, and it is inconceivable that Gottberg should be able to give such an order without referring the matter to me. It shall not be carried out, unless we are to suffer actual want. I am rather afraid that some intrigue against me is at the bottom of it. Commissary-General von Stosch is at enmity with my commissaries, and does not like my system of large magazines.

I shall have to take the matter in hand, and give myself, I suppose, a lot of extra work and worry in doing so.

October 27.

This morning arrived the glad tidings of the fall of Metz. We have taken 150,000 prisoners.

This will not make much difference in our situation; still, it is a good stride on the road to our goal.

We have also heard that at Nogent and Montereau the Wurtembergers have defeated 2,600 Gardes-mobiles and taken one gun, one mitrailleuse, and 300 prisoners. Also at Anet, in the neighbourhood of Dreux, a small fight has taken place in which forty Mobiles were killed.

Before Paris everything has remained quiet with the exception of the usual cannonade.

In the morning I had a very unpleasant interview with Commissary Barretski, after which I had to adopt the system of corps magazines for provisioning

the troops, retaining, however, some of the central magazines.

In the evening I took a ride with Bronsart to St. Cyr. At night a big dinner, at which I met Blankenburg.

Some Americans who have come out of Paris state that order is being maintained in the city by the National Guard. Beef is very bad, and there is only sufficient now to last ten days. Horseflesh is abundant, likewise vegetables and flour. Prices are very high.

People here do not believe the news of the fall of Metz.

October 28.

Early this morning we received the official report of the capitulation of Metz and Marshal Bazaine's army. Seldom has history had to record such a collapse. Three Marshals of France, 6,000 officers, and 173,000 men in a well-equipped fortress have surrendered to a Prussian force of scarcely greater strength.

It is a conclusive proof of the inferiority of their Generals, and of the general demoralization of the French Army that this comparatively strong force should not have been able to break through the thin investing line of Prussians. Had Bazaine, during one of the nights immediately succeeding the Battle of Metz, tried to break through us with the whole of his army in a southerly direction, as I thought he would, there would have been nobody to stop him. But perhaps he did not know that the two Prussian armies

had already pushed on to Nancy, but thought that they were still in the neighbourhood of Blamont or Lunéville. In that case it would indeed have gone hard with him.

This morning I had so many troublesome questions to deal with in regard to the siege operations that I got into quite a bad temper. It ought by this time to be clear to everybody that it is not a question of a regular formal siege. The sacrifices that the fights around the forts have caused us, and, above all, the advanced season of the year, must all be taken into account; besides, Paris must soon fall of itself.

From latest accounts, it has now only eight days' beef; there will then only be left the horses. There appears to be very little salt, and powder is running short; and since the last sortie the French have been saving their ammunition in a marked degree. The weather has been extremely wet and foggy to-day. Towards evening I took a walk to the basin. I am grieved to get no letter from my wife. I trust nobody is ill.

After dinner one of the King's A.D.C.'s (Count Waldersee) came to me and told me that an Englishman who had just got out of Paris had brought apparently authentic information that in the course of a few days Trochu intended to make the long-expected general sortie. It is to take place on the front of Versailles. I promised, with the consent of the Crown Prince, to place the whole of the Guard-Landwehr Division on the 30th instant in the neighbourhood of Versailles. If Trochu comes along with his 600,000 men, he shall be properly received.

October 29.

Early this morning the Crown Prince came into my room and showed me a letter from the King, in which it is stated that both he and Prince Frederick Charles have been promoted to the rank of Field-Marshal.

In the course of the day came further reports that the enemy was collecting round Villejuif and Mont-rouge, and as there is a rumour in the town that the great sortie is about to take place to-morrow, many give credence to it. I myself do not believe it, as I do not think that the French have got the heart for it at present. Still, there will be another sortie for certain.

It was very wet, but warm, and I took a ride with Bronsart in the park.

General Moltke has been raised to the dignity of Count.

According to the evening reports, the enemy has again withdrawn into the fortress.

The arrangements for the provisioning of the troops, which are not nearly so perfect as they should be, give me a lot of bother. I have every day to make provision for, and give orders to, fifteen different bodies of troops. This is indeed too much. We have in the Third Army now the Fifth, Sixth, Eleventh, and Thirteenth Prussian Corps, the First and Second Bavarian Corps, the Guard-Landwehr Division, the Twenty-second Division, the Fourth Infantry Division, the Second, Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Cavalry Divisions, and the siege artillery and engineer park.

October 30.

At eleven o'clock this morning the Landwehr Division of the Guard marched through here on its way to St. Germain and neighbourhood. By the King's command the route taken by this really splendid body of troops was down the Avenue de Paris. It was a most imposing spectacle.

It was interesting that Thiers had arrived from Tours and was then on his way to Paris. He must have seen these magnificent troops, and have received the impression that we are all fit and strong, and are well prepared to capture Paris.

In the afternoon Werner* visited me, and came for a walk. At night a great dinner with the Bavarians, at which the War Minister said that the King had awarded me the Max Joseph Order.

At breakfast to-day I had the pleasure of seeing Oetinger, who looked very well and fit, and very pleased to see me.

October 31.

The weather very thick and misty, which greatly depresses me, and makes my work all the harder to face.

I was summoned at four o'clock to the King's quarters, and at five o'clock to the War Minister's.

Before dinner Viebahn brought the news of the fight of the Second Guards' Division at Le Bourget. My dear friend Waldersee has fallen; so, too, Zaluskowsky and others. My idea is that it was a perfectly unnecessary fight. If I had not strongly discountenanced the inclination there is *here* towards unnecessary fight-

* The painter Anton von Werner.

ing, we should likewise have suffered similar losses; for instance, the storming of the redoubt at Haut Bruyères, near Villejuif, which has so often been advocated, would have cost us a heavy sacrifice, and, after all, we should never have been able to retain possession of the work.

Certainly the Guards captured thirty officers and 1,200 men, but the sacrifices were far too great in proportion.

At 5.30 I took my leave of His Majesty, and drove to the War Ministry, where they had already sat down at table. Count Bismarck and Blankenburg were there.

I got into a lively altercation with the War Minister, who is just as bloodthirsty as he was in 1864, and always wants to hear the first cannon-shot fired.

It was a very pleasant and most interesting evening, and it was almost eleven o'clock before I got to bed. Bismarck talked a good deal as usual, and was most expansive on the notion of calling together a German Parliament at Versailles. I advised him at the same time to summon a French one at Cassel !

Thiers has returned from Paris.

*Les Ombrages, Versailles,
November 1.*

To-day, in the presence of the Crown Prince, Rieff Schulz and I held a conference on the subject of the siege operations. It transpired that it will be at least three weeks before the first shot can be fired.

The transport of munitions from Nanteuil is the great difficulty, as there is a scarcity of carts. I have

telegraphed for four-wheeled waggons in all directions, but fear that these vehicles, though greatly needed, will not be forthcoming.

We determined not to commence operations until we have collected sufficient material, and in case of pressure being brought to bear for an earlier commencement, to protest formally.

In the forenoon I had much to do that put me into a very bad temper. I then took a ride in the afternoon, with Bronsart, to the siege park, and then back through the wood of Meudon. Weather warm and pleasant.

After dinner I passed a very enjoyable evening, as Karnatz and Bronsart played charmingly on the piano.

November 2.

To-day there is a dry but frightfully cold east wind. In the morning an open letter, addressed by Archbishop Dupanloup to England, came to hand. It was evidently intended for us to read.

He counsels most impressively a union of the two Bourbon lines, as France can only be saved by the Legitimists. Thiers is of the same opinion.

I gave the letter to the Crown Prince, who drove with it to the King.

It seems that somebody has been alarming the King with regard to our situation here. He is most anxiously looking to the arrival of reinforcements, and cannot be induced to consent to certain strong detachments being despatched away from here to drive back the enemy, who has begun to make serious demonstrations in our rear. It is most desirable to

push forward an expedition against Tours, and drive out the existing Government therefrom.

If we only had a free hand, how differently things would be managed !

Thiers is still here, and conducting negotiations. Most unreasonable demands of the French, however, prevent any desirable result.

In the afternoon a report was made of a sortie from Mont Valerien with twenty-six guns. The latter turned out to be potato-carts.

I rode with Bronsart to Marly ; we could not see much, as it had already grown dark. I caught a severe cold in the head.

Yesterday the Bavarian Minister brought me the Max Joseph Order, and to-day I received from the Emperor of Russia the St. George's Order of the Fourth Class. Both are very rare orders and much prized.

November 3.

Yesterday we received instructions from General von Moltke that General von der Tann at Orleans and General Wittich at Chartres should make offensive movements. I cannot say that I at all approve this idea, for it throws to the winds my plan, which has hitherto been followed, of remaining quiet until all should be ready for a big stroke. It may easily lay us open to defeats in detail.

I drove over to Moltke at once, and we came to terms as soon as he had heard what I had to say. He now desires nothing more than that they should make reconnaissances in force, which they are both doing.

Wittich is making one to-day, but I greatly fear that he will come upon very superior forces in doing so.

I heard a very interesting piece of news from Moltke, namely, that on the night of the 31st an émeute took place in Paris itself, in the course of which Trochu and Favre were arrested, but liberated by the intervention of the Gardes-mobiles. The Commune, or Reds, as they are now called, appear to have the upper hand. If this is the case, everything will soon be upside down. We may now, assuredly, expect a sortie, for only thereby can the Reds hope to confirm their advantage. Their hopes will not be fulfilled, however, in the end, for they will not drive us back, but only be themselves butchered *en masse*.

The French Army of the North, which has attained some distinction under the leading of Bourbaki, has now lost that fine General. He has resigned his command because Gambetta has in a proclamation declared Bazaine and the other Marshals in disgrace. He naturally anticipates a similar fate.

To-day we have had very lovely but cold weather. I went for a walk to the basin, as, with my cold in the head, I should not dare to ride.

November 4.

To-day I felt very much annoyed. Probably my cold in the head was partly to blame, but mostly, I think, the inexpressibly distressing manner in which the operations of our armies are being conducted. The French are reinforcing their Army of the Loire. Their Sixteenth Army Corps must be at Blois, the

remainder—about 60,000 men—at Le Mans. Opposed to them stands Wittich with his single division. I do not actually believe that he is in any great danger, as his division is more effective than a whole French army that has been brought together as this one has; still, it is high time that these impudent folk should have their corns trodden upon. As the Crown Prince was going to an audience with the King, I begged him to explain the question emphatically to His Majesty and pray him to allow us to support Wittich with the Fourth Division, which has just marched in, and then permit him, in conjunction with Von der Tann, to carry out the movement that appears to be so desirable.

It was all in vain, as the King fancies our own position in front of Paris to be extremely hazardous, and will not sanction any troops being sent away. We shall have to wait another day.

I have not been so depressed for a long time, or so despondent as I am to-day. The great responsibility that I have, combined with the conviction that things are not going as they should, and this ceaseless threshing of barren cornstalks, is too much for me.

This afternoon I took a walk with Herkt to the basin. The weather was lovely.

In Paris they appear to have settled down quietly again. This afternoon there was a lively cannonade from the forts.

November 5.

My cold was so bad to-day that I could not go out. Bronsart drove over to Moltke, and laid before him

my request regarding the expedition to Le Mans. He was quite of my opinion in the matter, and the Crown Prince promised me, moreover, to plead with the King to sanction an expedition of the kind to be undertaken under the leadership of the Grand-Duke of Mecklenburg. The Crown Prince returned at 12.30, saying that it was of no use, as all had condemned it.

I now feel more quiet, for I see that all my exertions to bring this movement into play are absolutely futile.

In the afternoon came a written order from General von Moltke, notifying that the expedition *was* to take place at a later date, but that now a small expedition (which to my mind is quite unnecessary) is to be undertaken against Mantes; the district in front of Mont Valerien—Chatou-Argenteuil—is to be occupied by the Landwehr Division of the Guard, so as to allow of the Crown Prince of Saxony making an extensive movement towards the north-west. By this arrangement I shall now have, in addition to my present work, to take over the siege operations on the Argenteuil front, for which I am deeply grateful!

There is a limit of work in every human body, and it is not at all to the point that I should be working myself to death, night and day, while a whole crowd of military loafers are kicking their heels about in dozens, doing nothing but passing worthless criticisms on other people's work.

To-day I am looking at everything through darkened glasses, I know, but at the same time I cannot help thinking that the French will treat us as the Danes did at Fredericia.

They will hoodwink us, and keep us occupied here, then suddenly make a big sortie and march away to the west. If, however, we destroy their Army of the Loire, now at Le Mans, all fear of this contingency is past, and they can no longer trouble us.

It seems to me to be as clear as daylight.

Towards evening several reports arrived, and some despatches out of a balloon that descended near Chartres, and was captured by Lieutenant Gärtner of the 13th Hussars. They tell of the gradual withdrawal of the enemy's outpost line round Chartres.

November 6.

To-day was a very hard day for me. My cold and headache were so bad that I did not get up before four o'clock in the afternoon. I had to have recourse to the brown bottle.

The enemy did not cannonade to-day, probably in contemplation of an armistice. It seems, however, to have come to nothing, as Thiers goes back to Tours to-morrow. Lehnke is to accompany him as far as Orleans.

There can be no thought of an armistice yet, for the childish conceit of the French is far from having been reduced. They think that they can still impose terms, and will not hear of a cession of territory. The letters found yesterday in the captured balloon all have a very depressed tone, however.

The King dines here to-night.

November 7.

This afternoon I heard with gratification that the expedition against the so-called Army of the Loire,

which I have so much desired and so strongly advocated, has been sanctioned by the King, and that the command is to be given to the Grand-Duke of Mecklenberg. In order, however, that the Duke's own troops may be employed, the King has allowed the Seventeenth Division to be detailed to accompany him instead of the Fourth. Owing to its distance from the scene of operations, this will delay matters for at least two days more.

By the 12th his whole corps will be collected between Châteaudun and Chartres. It will be composed of the First Bavarian Corps (exclusive of the First Brigade in Orleans), the Seventeenth and Twenty-second Divisions, and the Fourth and Sixth Cavalry Brigades.

This afternoon we received information from Von der Tann that he is expecting to be attacked. I do not anticipate any such thing, as the enemy cannot be ready for it yet.

I am feeling considerably better, but unable as yet to go out in this raw air.

A Russian officer of the General Staff brought me intimation that the Emperor has bestowed upon me the Georgian Order of the Fourth Class.

Yesterday the Grand-Duke of Mecklenburg bestowed upon me the military Order of Merit of the First Class.

November 8.

This morning the Grand-Duke of Mecklenburg came here to receive instructions regarding his operations. He seemed particularly pleased at his appoint-

ment, and was so smart and quick in apprehending his task that I have the greatest hopes of him. It may be, however, that the operations will be more difficult than we think, owing to the delay that has taken place.

Towards evening a telegram arrived from Tann, saying that strong forces of the enemy are advancing by Beaugency, and that he is accordingly taking up a concentrated position at Ormes.

At dinner-time a message arrived from Wittich, requesting instructions as to whether, under present circumstances, he ought not to march to Orgères to support Von der Tann. From all this, we may conclude that a battle is nearer to hand than has been anticipated by those in the councils of the King.

All my prayers and entreaties have been in vain, and now people will not be surprised that it should have made me ill. My conscience is, however, clear. I did all I could, and never hesitated, and God will show who was right.

Count Bismarck and several Princes were at dinner to-night.

Who knows, there may be a sortie to-morrow?

In any case, there will be a lot to do, and to-night I am quite fagged out with labour.

November 9.

This morning again a mass of work, though none of much importance.

The Sixth Corps has reported that between eight and nine o'clock last night there was again a great noise of drums beating, bells ringing, cheering and

firing in the city. In the country about Orleans nothing new has transpired.

Viebahn and Bronsart went with the Grand-Duke. The latter I miss very greatly.

In the afternoon I took a walk in the town.

November 10.

Yesterday evening came a telegram from General von der Tann, reporting that, after a fight which lasted seven hours, he had had to retire on St. Peravy. The French were in great numerical superiority. He intimates to-day that his casualties have been comparatively small, but that he lost some of his reserve artillery, which went astray in a wood. It has now come to this: that no offensive movement can be attempted, but that a concentrated position must be taken up in the neighbourhood of Angerville, where the Grand-Duke and the Seventeenth Division will arrive to-morrow.

I drove over to see Moltke, but did not find him at home. In the evening he came over to me, and we discussed the situation, being both of the same mind. He also told me that Prince Frederick Charles would arrive in Fontainebleau on the 14th instant with the Ninth Army Corps. We shall then be able to take the offensive in earnest, and place the Army of the Loire in a very uncomfortable position. At the present moment I imagine that they are well pleased at the evacuation of Orleans, and do not intend advancing any further.

Should they do it, however, they will have to advance over a wide plain, where our cavalry and

artillery should give a very good account of themselves.

My cold seems to be worse; at least, I do not feel quite so well. My room is so cold and draughty that, in this snowy weather, I cannot get it warm.

The enemy keeps quiet. General Trochu must have issued a memorandum since Le Bourget discountenancing small sorties, so as to reserve all strength for one grand general demonstration.

November 11.

To-day was a very quiet day, and was greatly enjoyed by me as such, for I had a very bad night, and do not feel at all well. I went out for a walk, however, as the weather was somewhat better. A Lieutenant Hoffman, of the 7th Regiment, has surprised an Englishman in his quarters, which are about 1,200 paces from Mont Valerien, and taken from him the latest Parisian newspapers.

One reads in them a changed and despondent state of feeling in Paris; they even dare to talk of surrender. Hunger is beginning to tell, and horseflesh is becoming scarcer. There is a great dearth of firewood. The long-expected sortie will never come.

November 12.

To-day arrived several telegrams from Toury, according to which the French have not advanced any further. The Grand-Duke of Mecklenburg will now have plenty of time to receive his reinforcements. To-day the King told the Crown Prince to write to

him and tell him to remain on the defensive until General Manstein comes.

I shall now have to write to him, although it was only yesterday that I sent him a letter.

I sent off several letters to Generals in command, giving them instructions in case of a sortie.

The Bavarians expect one to-morrow, as troops are assembling at Montrouge. I do not think it will take place. More extensive preparations, of which we cannot remain ignorant, will have to be made for a general sortie, and for smaller ones the foe has no longer any stomach.

My cold is to-day somewhat better. The day's work was, however, very severe, so that, in spite of the improvement in the weather, I was obliged to sit in my room all day.

Another balloon has been brought down by the Wurtembergers and captured, with three men and a budget of letters.

November 13.

To-day all was as still as the Sabbath. I am much better, but cannot yet go out.

In the afternoon a telegram arrived from the Grand-Duke, saying that to-morrow he will march to Chartres. I forgot to send it to the King, and when the Crown Prince returned in the evening from St. Germain it was very unpleasant for him. It was sent on then. I have become a veritable reporting machine! If this sort of thing goes on, we shall have a repetition of the story of the Vienna Council of War at Court. There is a very decided tendency here to dictate every

move to the Grand-Duke, and this ought to be resisted.

If I were in his place, I should report nothing, but just cut the telegraph-wire.

According to the letters and newspapers captured in the balloon, feeling in Paris is very intense, and already there is a sentiment abroad that the last great sortie, which everyone has been looking to, will now be ineffectual.

Provisions are very scarce, but what the Parisians appear to feel most is that since the 27th of October they have been cut off from the outer world and get no news. They appear to be entirely unaware of the fight which took place at Orleans.

November 14.

To-day I felt extremely unwell, and much worse when certain news arrived from the Grand-Duke which caused great agitation at the King's Headquarters. When I see anxiety abroad it always annoys me, but when there is absolutely no foundation for such weakness it makes me wild. It may be a form of illness with me, possibly due to overstrung nerves, but I abominate that sort of unmanliness.

The advance of the Grand-Duke on Chartres appears here not to be understood, though at the time I said to the Crown Prince and to others that they could not be judges of everything that was happening; that no doubt the Grand-Duke had good reasons for his action, and if he did not happen to report every detail he was quite right and a wise man. This was not at all appreciated at Headquarters!

About mid-day Moltke came to me. He evidently looked at things in a calmer light, but desired greatly that I should give the Grand-Duke certain instructions. I could only assure him that such control was against my principles, and that when a responsible task is allotted to a man I consider he should be allowed to work out his own salvation. His hands should certainly not be tied. Moltke assented to this, and upon the other points we were also unanimous.

Moltke was annoyed that the Grand-Duke should from the outset have divided his forces too much. He is right there, but we do not know what were the Duke's reasons for so doing.

In the evening came several alarming telegrams that the enemy was advancing with 12,000 men on to Houdain through Dreux. It is certainly only a blind, but it has done us this good, that they have given us back the five Guard-Landwehr battalions from Argenteuil, etc. They move in here to-morrow, and the next day will be sent out to Houdain to protect our rear.

November 15.

My cold seems to have disappeared, but I am troubled greatly to-day with biliousness, which I cannot get over.

The sortie which was foretold for to-day has not come off, and there are no signs that it will do so to-morrow.

In the captured balloon was found a letter from E. U. to a Minister in Vienna, in which it was stated

that the French would not make another sortie, as whatever might be determined upon to-day, and accepted with enthusiasm by the crowd, would to-morrow fail in execution from want of pluck to carry it through.

Westwards of us the enemy has remained stationary at Houdain, and not made a further advance. Behind this veil, no doubt, strong forces will be moved on Chartres, where there is sure to be a fight.

General von Manstein has arrived at Milly, east of Estampes, with the Ninth Corps, and the ground has been so assigned for occupation that Prince Frederick Charles has all the country east and south of the Paris-Châteaudun *chaussée* to cover, the Grand-Duke all north-westwards of it up to the Seine. We shall now have nothing to fear in our rear.

I am very curious to know whether the French will make another sortie. I think not; it would be too risky with their miserable troops.

In one of the letters it was stated that on the 20th of this month the whole of France would rise and murder us. So we are to have another St. Bartholomew's night! It is not so easily done as said.

In the budget of letters found in the balloon there is a great number of very important and interesting letters of especial political bearing, all of which give one the impression that the crisis is at hand. They seem to fear that in the event of a sortie the 10,000 Jacobins in Paris will take advantage of the absence of the troops to create a bloody revolution.

November 16.

To-day I am quite recovered, and was able this afternoon to go for a walk.

In the last few days most important political doings have taken place. Hesse and Baden have entered the North German Confederation; Wurtemberg has made some reservations, but will come in; Bavaria, however, declines, and wants a separate Constitution. The title of Emperor pleases the Crown Prince but not the King. In short, no unity has been brought about; the Ministers are departing, and we have not progressed much. Whether we shall acquire union upon a division of the spoils of war the gods alone can tell. Russia, cleverly utilizing her opportunity, has abrogated the treaty of 1856 with regard to the Black Sea. England cannot make war single-handed, and I am curious to know how she will get out of it.

I hear that in a few weeks' time the Reichstag meets in Berlin. What they will babble about there I am curious to learn. We have given them in our conduct plenty of material, certainly.

Moltke came to me to-day, and complained that the Grand-Duke reported so little, and said that I ought to order him to take the offensive. That is not at all necessary. The Duke will do that of his own accord, and up to now it seems to me he has done perfectly right. He remains concentrated, as it appears, between Chartres and Maintenon.

General Rheinbaben, with the Fifth Cavalry Division, has been reinforced by five Guard-Landwehr battalions, and will move forward as a right wing in the direction of Dreux.

Ministers Dalwigk and Hoffman dined here to-day.

November 17.

To-day was a very beautiful day. I drove to an audience with the King upon receiving the three Orders. I found him very much troubled in spirit. It is too much for the old man, and they should not go out of their way, as they do, to make him anxious. A few days ago there was a veritable panic here. They had packed up and made all preparations against a surprise. The alarm had spread even to my own Staff without my noticing it. They had taken good care not to let me see it, as they know how I take such pusillanimity. The cue seems to have been taken from the Headquarters Staff.

The letters from the balloon give us plenty to discuss, and explain very clearly the situation in Paris.

From the Grand-Duke comes the news that he is going to attack the enemy to-morrow in the Château-neuf-Brezolles-Dreux position. God grant that he may defeat him, for that will soon bring the war to an end.

If only the King with all the Princes and his Staff would go away, we could make short work of the business, and soon bring peace within measurable distance.

The transport of ammunition is extremely slow. We have only 600 carts in the siege park, and require at least 1,700.

The weather being beautiful, I took a walk yesterday afternoon to the basin, which did me much good. I still have attacks of headache whenever the room is too hot or too cold.

To-day we have assigned the country between the Seine and the Marne, together with the Wurtemberg division, to the Army of the Meuse, and General Franzecky moves up with the rest of his corps to a position behind the Sixth Corps, so that we have now a strong reserve.

November 18.

Yesterday I was aroused to receive the welcome news which had arrived at eleven o'clock, that General von Treskow, with the Seventeenth Division, had taken Dreux, and had made a number of prisoners. We have now made a beginning, and to-day I hope to hear that the enemy has been further driven back. I mentioned to-day at an audience with the Crown Prince that we cannot get sufficient waggons, and that the attack cannot commence before Christmas on account of a lack of ammunition. He suggested that it might be well to commence the attack with a few of the guns, just to frighten the Parisians. What irresponsible person has put this idea into his head I cannot tell, but I intend to combat the notion tooth and nail, as I consider it foolish in the extreme. This is exactly what the French want. They would like to pose with great effect as martyrs, and would like to give in as gentlemen to superior force. They would be able to make capital out of that; but that they should have to give in like hungry dogs to the pangs of an empty stomach is to them a crushing notion. Why cannot we be just as haughty and pig-headed as the French? It cannot do us any harm, and it is quite immaterial to us what becomes of the

Parisians, since they will have it so. For us and for them in the future it will be happier if they have to drain to the dregs the cup of misery and woe which they have brought upon Europe.

It lies with them at any moment to put an end to it by surrendering. The news that Russia has abrogated the treaty of 1856 came as a surprise to people here, though I must say I find nothing strange in it. The moment seems to have been very appropriately chosen, but who can tell what will be the outcome? Will England make a *casus belli* out of it, or will there be a general war, we alone standing by Russia? The French will be less inclined to come to terms now.

The weather was very beautiful at mid-day, but after that much fog. I took a long walk through the town.

November 19.

Early this morning all was again quiet. The news came that the Twenty-second Division had defeated the French at Châteauneuf and taken 150 prisoners. We sent two carrier pigeons with the news into Paris. Only Gottberg, Lehnke, and I know about this. I hope there will not be a row when it becomes public property. The great sortie is expected on all sides to come off to-morrow. Personally, I do not believe it will, as no preparations have been made for it. No particular reports have come to hand.

On the 21st General Manteuffel will be up in the line Compiègne-Noyon, and Prince Frederick Charles from Pithiviers and neighbourhood will make an

offensive movement on the same day against Orleans. Next week will therefore be a very eventful one.

A deserter from Paris gave a very distressing account of the condition of the troops in the fortress. He does not think it possible that another large sortie can be attempted. There was a general cry for peace, even from the army. The soldiers are not yet suffering from hunger, but the unfortunate inhabitants are.

November 20.

To-day the hope is expressed that the South German States will unite with us ; Bavaria, however, still stands out. The army has recognised, I think, the necessity for us to stand towards each other in closer relationship, but Austrian influence and national particularism are still very powerful.

To-day the English Under-Secretary of State, Mr. Odo Russell, came here on business, it seems, connected with the Russian affair.

The day was quite still, the air wonderfully clear. I rode with Albrecht to the so-called Percussion-cap Manufactory, near Sèvres, where we obtained a splendid view over Paris. There was not a sound to be heard, not a movement to be seen. The town might have been a great French burial-ground. At mid-day the King was here. There was no news, and there is no sign of any sortie for to-morrow. I saw a balloon ascend from Paris.

November 21.

To-day is the Crown Princess's birthday ; also it is that of my little Heine, who would to-day have been

fifteen years old, and would have deeply felt his inability to enter military service owing to his infirmity.

Prince Frederick Charles moves against Orleans to-day, and the Grand-Duke against Nogent-le-Retrou. Between the two the enemy is in strong force, but if they strike opportunely all that rabble will disappear. There was a grand déjeuner here to-day, and before it I received the Order of Baden. We dined at the King's table.

After dinner Bismarck began about the bombardment, saying that he considered it necessary from a political point of view. I could only reply that I considered it would be a great military fault, and that I would rather retire than permit it. His politics should have nothing to do with this question ; it is purely a military one, and the honour of the army is at stake. I can perfectly well see that the Crown Prince has been worked upon, and would very much like to see a bombardment take place such as a subaltern might indulge in.

I cannot consent to such inanity, and would rather give up my command than yield to such infantile counsels. When once firing commences, there ought to be no cessation whatever. Once the task is undertaken, we must go through with it, or else accept the blame of the whole world. If I could only see some purpose in a bombardment I would not object, but if people think that the bursting of a few shells in the suburbs of Paris will bring about a capitulation, they labour under a childish illusion and greatly misjudge the French. In the open field I will gladly go at

them, but behind walls and ramparts they will become real heroes, and we shall forego all our advantage.

How long I shall have to set my face against this bloodthirsty policy I do not know; at the present moment I have the King and Moltke on my side. I have this evening written a memorandum of my views and sent it to Moltke, trusting it may carry some weight.

November 22.

With the exception of some routine unpleasanties, everything went along this morning as usual; it rained a good deal and was as warm as in spring.

In the afternoon I was able to go for a walk.

The Crown Prince dined at the Reservoir, and we all enjoyed a very pleasant musical evening.

At nine o'clock an order came from Moltke directing that the Grand-Duke should abandon his move towards Le Mans, and to-morrow make a wheel to the left, so as to bring him in the direction of Blois or Beaugency.

This is a most excellent move, and will effect a junction with Prince Frederick Charles on the 26th, about Orleans. A victory here will be certain, and the French will be not only cut off from a retreat on Tours, but also from a junction with the troops at Le Mans. The order will have to be telegraphed this night.

November 23.

At half-past ten came a telegram from the Grand-Duke, saying that he had been unable to divert the march on Le Mans to-day, but that to-morrow he

would wheel to the left. His Generals have begged earnestly for a day's rest. This cannot be dreamt of; every effort must be made to press forward, or the enemy will escape us, a contingency of which there is every possibility.

I sent off Hahnke to the King, who returned with instructions that there must be no day's halt.

General von Rheinbaben with the Fifth Cavalry Division must come under our control again, and be assigned the protection of the line to Eure.

Soon afterwards came the news from him that Vernon has again been occupied by the enemy, and that on our retreat Lieutenant von Bodenhausen was left behind. These little unpleasantries always upset the Crown Prince, and it takes me some time to restore him to equanimity. Contretemps are inevitable in war.

In the afternoon I made my way to the basin for a walk, and afterwards dined with the Crown Prince at General Kirchbach's, where we met several Bavarian and Russian officers. A most sumptuous dinner.

November 24.

With the exception of small outpost affairs all was quiet in the night. The Parisians appear most anxious to spare their powder. They threw, however, four shells into one of the redoubts of the siege park. This morning I had to deal with a mass of trivialities. Lovely weather, and so I took a beautiful ride in the park.

We receive daily in a mysterious way newspapers from Paris. The tone of these grows ever more

humble. A deserter has said that in the next few days we are to have a sortie. I do not believe it.

To-morrow a brigade of the Second Corps marches to Villeneuve St. Georges, to reinforce the position there, which is at present in a dangerous way. Heavy bets are being made on the probable date of capitulation. If I were to bet, I would lay my money on the 8th of December, my reason being that Prince Frederick Charles will win a complete victory over the Army of the Loire on the 27th or 28th of this month. We will give them a few days in Paris to digest their defeat, and that will bring us to the 8th of December. Whether they have provisions to last them longer than that, it is hard to say. Up to date, they have had their twenty-two head of show cattle calmly grazing on the glacis of Mont Valerien.

Shortly before dinner Hahnke came from the King's Headquarters, and told us that Prince Frederick Charles had been having to-day several small fights while reconnoitring, and had suffered some losses. He cannot dispense with that absurd reconnoitring-in-force, a form of tactics whereby the Austrians always spoil their battles. He forgets that one exposes one's position just as much as one uncloaks that of the enemy.

In the evening came several telegrams from the Army of the Meuse that the enemy was trying to form a bridge near Bezons, in order to cross over to the peninsula. What he means thereby I cannot tell; I must, however, warn the Guard-Landwehr Division in St. Germain to hold the bridges there and at Sartrouville.

As I supposed, the rumours of last night were all false. There was no sign of a sortie, and even if a deserter reports one for the 27th, I for my part shall not believe it.

They are waiting for the Army of the Loire, and if it does not come there will be no sortie, as it would be only a useless effort.

I should advise those in power in Paris to make peace at any price, and then endeavour, with the help of the Army of the Loire—which is as yet intact—to bolster up their dear Republic for as long as they can. What the 300,000 prisoners on their return will have to say is nothing to us. We should win in either case.

The soldiers in Paris are no longer getting fresh meat, and must be complaining bitterly. This will make a great difference, although the newspapers of to-day affect a confident tone, owing to news received from their powerful Army of the Loire. The reaction will be pretty severe when it comes. The Grand-Duke, unfortunately, marches very slowly, and Prince Frederick Charles will have to put off his attack until the 28th or 29th. That this pretty stroke is being carried out so haltingly is sad, but we must wait. It is a satisfaction to me to know that the troops taken from us for a time have been handed over to Prince Frederick Charles, as this will give a cohesion to the operations.

In the afternoon I took a charming ride with Albrecht to the redoubt in the siege park.

November 26.

Early this morning came in a telegram from the Grand-Duke that he had met a strong force of the enemy, 8,000 strong, marching from Châteaudun to Brou. They have strong columns of reserves. He is taking up a position, so here we have another check, and are unable to bring any nearer the junction with Prince Frederick Charles. I would have gone forwards at all hazards, and routed the lot.

General von Moltke was very much vexed with this tardiness, and proposed to the King that General von Stosch should be sent to the Grand-Duke as Chief of the Staff to hurry him up.

In the forenoon I thought I heard a great fight going on, but it turned out to be fire-exercises taking place in the Bois de Boulogne.

The news has come from Prince Frederick Charles that the ground is so wet and heavy that they cannot get on at all.

In the afternoon I took a walk to the Château, and visited the atelier of Professor Bleibtreu. In the evening some Swedish doctors came to dine.

There came a telegram from the Army of the Meuse that it had been reported from Paris that all the barricades had been removed to make room for the troops to march out and make a sortie, and that the gates have to be closed at five o'clock.

And so we are again on the *qui vive*.

November 27.

Last night there was a terrible cannonading from all the forts. I was three times awakened by it. It

appears from reports that the enemy was in dread of a night attack, and on that account kept up a lively cannonade. In front of the Sixth Corps alone was any reconnoitring-party of the enemy sent forward, and this was in due course pushed back by our out-posts. We got news to-day from Manteuffel that he is about to attack the enemy (whose strength is reported at 40,000) at Amiens to-day.

Near Orleans Voigts-Rhetz has taken prisoner a Brigadier-General whilst reconnoitring.

The Grand-Duke is advancing by Châteaudun, and to-morrow will unite with Prince Frederick Charles, so now we may expect the Battle of Orleans to take place on the 29th, with decisive result.

In the afternoon I took a walk to the basin.

After dinner a telegram arrived from Tümping, saying that near Joinville, opposite the Wurtembergers, the French have thrown a bridge across the river. Another sortie, therefore.

From Hartmann comes the news that at five o'clock there was a great noise and much firing going on in Paris.

November 28.

Again last night there was a severe fire from all the forts. It looks almost as though the French are trying to cannonade courage into their hearts.

The Bavarians report that again yesterday evening they heard firing and ringing of bells. I should not wonder if another riot has broken out.

From Manteuffel we have news that he has defeated

the enemy at Amiens with the Eighth Corps, and made about 700 prisoners.

Also Werder yesterday routed a party of Garibaldians, who, after losing some 200 to 300 men, threw down their arms and bolted.

The Grand-Duke is making a halt to-day.

The operations against the Army of the Loire are being conducted very tardily, and the crisis is still some days off.

Heavy fog this morning. In the afternoon I rode with Albrecht to Beauregard, to see the beautiful castle there.

In the evening came the news that the enemy had attacked the Tenth Corps at Beaune-la-Roland; he was, however, beaten back, and lost many prisoners. On our side about 1,000 casualties.

It appears now that the Army of the Loire is trying to push forward on the right bank of the Loing, so as to assist a sortie from the front between the Seine and the Marne, or, rather, in the Seine Valley.

General von Moltke dined with us to-day.

November 29.

A disturbed night again. A continuous cannonade, and the arrival of telegrams, all pointing to a general sortie. There was very little to be done, as full preparations had been made for all contingencies.

In the forenoon there was great excitement, the guns continued to fire, and the telegrams poured in, Staff officers and gallopers everywhere. The Staff was prepared to march out, but here we had to remain,

as there was no indication where the sortie was taking place.

Towards mid-day the situation cleared up, and at luncheon-time it was quite evident that there had been sorties, but that they had been repulsed. At Bezons and at Bougival the demonstrations were unimportant, but against the Montretout Redoubt nine battalions were launched, to be driven back, however, by the rifle companies.

Against the Bavarians a tremendously severe cannonade was directed, without, however, any harm being done.

The principal assault was made against the Sixth Corps, especially at L'Hay. The columns of attack were commanded by Ducrot, and must have consisted of at least a division.

Three times was the assault renewed against Hoffmann's division, which lost about four officers and sixty men. Their casualties were five officers and 250 men taken prisoners, with large numbers of dead and wounded.

Against the Wurtemberg Division shell-fire was employed alone.

This was the last attempt that they made, and now we shall have rest at the hands of the Parisians. They did not attack with the same *élan* as of old, and they seemed to see that they can do us no harm.

At mid-day I lunched with the King, who was very kind and gracious to me. His Majesty's face, however, betrayed great anxiety. After dinner I drove across to Moltke, who told me that there was no news from Prince Frederick Charles. The enemy has not

attempted, since yesterday's fight, to move northwards. The Prince has united his forces with those of the Grand-Duke, and it is to be hoped that the attack will be made to-morrow.

This afternoon came a message from the King to Moltke and Roon, in which he expressed his concern at the tardy progress of the siege, and required a reply to certain questions as to the possibility of hastening operations.

November 30.

Another very disturbed night, and a really infernal fire from the guns, which, by reason of the east wind, was particularly annoying. I was repeatedly awakened. The Crown Prince hardly slept at all. It seems that the firing took place all round, and from every fort. It did not cease the whole forenoon.

The enemy advanced in our direction with a few battalions, and appeared as though he would favour Tümping, so that almost all our troops were paraded at their posts. Towards mid-day, however, he appeared to have made up his mind to attack in great force the Wurtembergers, in the neighbourhood of Creteil and Joinville. I learnt this at about one o'clock, and immediately ordered General Franzecky with the Third Division and a part of the Reserve Artillery, first by telegram, then by orderly officer, to move along the right bank of the Seine. Soon after came a telegram from Tümping, saying that, as he was no longer threatened, he had sent a force consisting of a brigade of infantry, with two and a half squadrons

and two batteries, by Villeneuve St. Georges, to the help of the Wurtembergers. This was at 12.40.

Franzecky will hardly be in time for the fight; but, still, whatever may happen, his presence will be of great value.

Verdy, and later Moltke, were here. They both approved of these dispositions. Even now (at five o'clock) I am much exercised to know how the affair will turn out. The Wurtembergers on the right wing will have been reinforced by the Twenty-fourth Division.

Just this moment (5.30) a telegram from Tümping, who says that the Wurtembergers' left flank, on Mont Mesly, is quite safe. Choisy-le-Roi has been attacked, but the enemy driven off.

Now (9 p.m.) we know that the Wurtembergers have regained their old position. They have made some 300 prisoners, the greater number in a very pretty charge of the Wurtemberg Cavalry.

Franzecky has not returned yet, but the arrival of our two Prussian brigades seems to have decided the action. The enemy retired into Paris. Will he return to the attack to-morrow? and if so, where?

A written communication addressed by Bismarck to the King has just been communicated to the Crown Prince. It says that a bombardment of the forts has become a political necessity, as otherwise the neutrals will take it as a sign of weakness, and may intervene, and so create difficulties. He presses his point with Bismarckian energy, but his arguments are not conclusive.

It will be very regrettable if more men are to be

unnecessarily slaughtered. My conscience is clear, however, and I cannot prevent it. By artistic politics of this kind this war will take its place in history. We are merely its playthings.

December 1.

At midnight I was awakened out of a delicious sleep to see the Crown Prince and Major Hahnke standing at the foot of my bed. They had just come from the King, and had brought an order to send at once, during the night, three brigades to the right bank of the Seine to retake a portion of the position (Champigny and Brie) which had been lost by the Wurtembergers in the battle.

It had to be thought out most carefully, and many telegrams despatched, but, still, all was ready at one o'clock.

Lieutenant-Colonel Verdy came from Moltke to speak with me on the subject, and then drove on to the Wurtemberg Division. I sent Lehnke with him.

The remainder of the night passed undisturbed. Not a shot was fired. The following morning was spent in some excitement, as we anticipated a renewal of the attack. It did not take place, however, and the day passed quite quietly. It is to be hoped that the attack on the Wurtembergers, which was undertaken with between four and five divisions, will be the last. They appear to have fought very well, but they suffered very heavy losses.

No news of the Army of the Loire. It is somewhat perplexing.

In the afternoon I took a walk with Herkt.



In the evening the Duke of Coburg and the Englishmen dined here. When Lehnke returned, he gave us very interesting details about the Wurtembergers. Franzecky, it seems, does not wish to retake the advanced outpost line, which was very much exposed. There will therefore be no second battle.

Yesterday, at St. Denis, there was also a large sortie, but it was beaten off by the Fourth Corps with a loss of fourteen officers. Will there really be no further sorties? It is hard to say. From what the prisoners tell us, the troops in Paris are still being well fed.

December 2.

In the night Hahnke awoke me with an order direct from the King, detailing Franzecky to remain with his Third Division on the right bank of the Seine, and occupy the outpost line between Suzy and the river.

From this it is clear that they have decided not to retake the position marked by the villages Champigny and Brie, and of this policy I quite approve, as these villages lie within the range of heavy artillery and are untenable.

The Fourth Division will go into cantonments between Longjumeau and Palaiseau. I despatched telegrams to this effect, and sent Hahnke off to bed.

In the morning the Crown Prince was very much put out that I had not had him called, as he said he ought to be informed of all orders as soon as they arrive. I said to him that I could not think of waking him for such details; moreover, that it came into my

province, and not into his, to issue the subsequent orders. I told him that I was not in the position of an adjutant who merely had to carry out orders ; that I was only too willing to leave him all the honour of the command and do all the work, but that my position could not be reduced to that of an adjutancy.

He saw my point, but he has not a very clear comprehension of his position in the command. With the greatest possible kindness and geniality, he replied that I could do anything I wished, and that he would in no wise hinder me nor raise difficulties ; but he must be told of everything, especially when an order has come direct from the King. It is not possible for him to feel offended, as he is always governed by the very best intentions, but he does not grasp the exact relationship in which I stand to him.

Soon telegrams poured in. The Crown Prince of Saxony had begged in the night that Champagne and Brie should be retaken at break of day. Franzecky had agreed. According to the telegrams at one time, the battle was going propitiously for us, and then at another success was doubtful. Throughout the whole day until half-past three we heard the firing, and remained in the highest state of uncertainty and excitement. The Crown Prince informed me at mid-day, and the news came to me as a ray of sunshine, that the King had positively commanded Prince Frederick Charles to march and attack the Army of the Loire.

It is impossible that he (*Fabius Cunctator*) can ignore such an order. He will have to go forwards at once.

At 3.15 a telegram despatched by General Obernitz informed me that the enemy appears to be in retreat on Joinville. So the Wurtembergers must be maintaining their position.

10.30 p.m.: The retreat of the enemy is an established fact, and all seems to have gone well with the Wurtembergers.

After dinner I played whist for the first time, and during the game had the unspeakable joy of receiving a message from Viebahn, telling of a brilliant victory won by the Grand-Duke of Mecklenburg.

Two Corps d'Armée defeated and twelve guns captured, with many prisoners. The battle was fought near Joinville.

It is greatly to be hoped that the news will drive Prince Frederick Charles forwards.

Bronsart has unfortunately been wounded, though only skin-deep.

December 3.

The night did not pass without my being awakened, though nothing of importance came to hand. In the morning telegrams arrived from Tümping, who expected to be attacked. It soon transpired, however, that the enemy had no thought of such a move, but was withdrawing his whole force to the eastwards.

He appears to have massed his whole field army during the day in the neighbourhood of Joinville and Brie, and will try to break through to-morrow. To-day hardly any fighting took place, only a somewhat heavy cannonade.

The losses of yesterday were, unfortunately, very heavy.

It snowed rather heavily, but there appears to be a thaw at present. Our poor fellows will have to suffer greatly; the enemy, too, I fear. At mid-day I dined at the King's table. It was the birthday of the Grand-Duchess of Baden.

The War Minister has written us a letter reproaching us for not having reported to him the difficulties which had arisen with regard to the transport of ammunition for the siege. Had we done so, he would have organized a Military Transport Corps.

Count Bismarck has been round the hospitals, and has allowed the men to send in a complaint about the bad feeding and attendance. He should have been made to come to us; then the defect would have received attention—if it exists. I must really give an order that no unauthorized persons are to be allowed to enter the hospitals. The Crown Prince will not sign it. After dinner the Crown Prince told me that the question of Imperialism was decided.

I see no cause for alarm here, for even if the French do break through to-morrow with a powerful attack, it will not avail them much in the long-run. They will not, however, do so. In view of such an attempt I have sent the Guard-Landwehr and six batteries from here to the Sixth Corps. They will start to-morrow. That will allow the corps to send more detachments to the right bank of the river.

December 4.

The night was quite quiet ; there was a hard frost, however, and some snow. From Franzecky the report that he was taking up a position in which he would wait the enemy. Tümping has sent a whole division to the right bank of the Seine, and from the Guard, too, a division will be sent in the direction of Lagny. We shall then have about seventy battalions on the battlefield.

Till now (eleven o'clock) no sound of firing, though the wind is in the east. General Manstein went forward yesterday in the direction of Orleans and captured the entrenchments of Chevilly. Otherwise there was no news.

Evening.

The enemy has withdrawn from Champigny, and the day has been passed in quiet. It is very difficult to make a forecast of his intentions, whether he will try to break through to-morrow, or whether, having heard of the fighting of the Army of the Loire, he will give up that idea. I myself think that Ducrot, seeing the enormous losses that his attempts to break through have caused, will now give up the idea.

By orders from Headquarters the position of the Wurtembergers at Villiers is to be further strengthened by the Engineers and armed with heavy guns.

The weather being beautiful and clear, I took a walk with Herkt in the wood, and enjoyed a splendid view of Versailles.

At lunch we met some Bavarians and the Russian Prince Georgi, who told me that I had a remarkably

large number of admirers in Russia. That is something new for me to hear.

The War Minister has received to-day his epistle on the subject of the Transport Corps.

December 5.

In the night the Crown Prince sent to arouse me with the news of the victory at Orleans, and to-day several telegrams arrived confirming it.

During the previous night the Duke of Mecklenburg entered the city of Orleans. It is to be hoped that the pursuit will be effectively pushed.

To-day the Crown Prince showed me a communication in which the King of Bavaria expresses his desire that the King of Prussia shall adopt the title of Emperor, as he could only consent to so close an alliance on the condition that it were to a German Emperor that he should be subjecting himself. It was again very cold, but fine, and I took a solitary walk to the basin.

Towards evening the telegrams poured in reporting the joyful news of the victory at Orleans.

Unfortunately, my nephew George has been wounded, just as Curt was, in the ankle. I trust it is not severe. It has upset me considerably, and I shall have to telegraph to his father, a painful task.

*Les Ombrages de Versailles,
December 6.*

All quiet this morning. Nothing new of importance except that General von Manteuffel has now marched into Rouen, and captured some guns from

the enemy. The latter must have retreated, some 35,000 strong, in the direction of Havre. If they are pursued swiftly and with determination, they will be pushed into the sea.

Towards mid-day Viebahn arrived from Orleans. He had exceedingly interesting details to give us of the battle there. The Seventeenth Division and the Twenty-second, too, as well as the Cavalry, distinguished themselves greatly.

The cold has somewhat abated, and I was able to take my walk to the basin, and five times round it, which just makes a mile.

To-day the King dined with us. It was easy to see the joy that the victory at Orleans had given him. It is not to be wondered at, for therein lies the decisive issue. They report the capture of at least 20,000 prisoners, and every hour brings news of more. The Army of the Loire must be in a state of dissolution. Whether the news will have the proper effect here is now the question.

Yesterday General von Moltke sent into Paris tidings of the great victory, and pleaded for the avoidance of further unnecessary bloodshed. To-day Trochu replied very politely, as the King told me, but made no remark beyond acknowledging the communication. There will be further developments in Paris, but who knows how the cat will jump?

December 7.

This morning all was quiet. There came further details of the battle at Orleans, and to-day arrived

six of the captured cannons, which have been parked round the statue of Louis XIV.

At last the order from General von Moltke has come that all horses that can be spared are to be sent to the ammunition train of the siege park. Besides this, the War Minister is going to form a Military Transport Corps, just as at Düppel, in 1864, he authorized the construction of a railway-line just three days before the place was stormed, viz., from Flensburg to Gravenstein !

It is exceedingly interesting to note with what energy he and Bismarck are pressing a bombardment of Paris.

This evening the Crown Prince showed me a telegram from the diplomatic bureau in Berlin, which Bismarck had sent to him, wherein it was stated that the rulers in Paris themselves desired to be bombarded, so that they might capitulate with honour. How this is known I should like to be told, and through what channels this intercourse is carried on with these rulers, that their thought should be known. I can only see in this manœuvre an intrigue to work upon the feelings of the King, and so obtain the much-desired object—bombardment.

It was again quite cold to-day. I was able to take my mile's walk, however, with Herkt, to the basin.

For the past three days I have had very little to do, especially in the afternoons.

The rage there is for a bombardment is quite laughable ; I do not think that it will come, however. We ought not to pay the French the compliment, however much they may desire it.

I consider it certainly possible that a bombardment under present conditions might bring about a capitulation ; but I equally decidedly hold that it is not at all a certainty, and I should be extremely sorry if we had to blame ourselves for having undertaken an affair with inadequate means to carry it through.

Such beating the bushes would only cause a very unpleasant reaction. General von Moltke knows this full well, and so he does not worry us, but maintains silence on the point.

December 8.

This morning there were two inches of snow on the ground, but it has begun to thaw. In the afternoon I took my walk, and afterwards dined at the King's table, where all the Knights of the Georgian Order were assembled. I was able to have a long conversation with General von Moltke, and came away with the conviction that he and I agree thoroughly upon the general situation. He, too, thinks that the Parisians will yield in the course of this month from stress of hunger, and that it would be better to apply our heavy artillery to strengthening our positions rather than to commence a bombardment with insufficient ammunition. In order, however, to meet halfway those who press for a bombardment, he is going to put the case to some of the artillerists as to whether a partial cannonading of Paris might not be possible without opening regular parallels. I imagine he overestimates the range of our weapons, and the moral effect that such a cannonading would have.

I am very curious to know how it will all end if the city does not capitulate.

December 9.

This morning I received a telegram from my brother Louis, saying that he is on the point of starting for Orleans, from Lagny, to go to his son George, who has been wounded. The telegram is very badly transmitted, and reads as though Curt had also fallen, which I do not think can be the case, as his name does not appear on our lists of dead and wounded. The possibility, however, has upset me more than I can express. I have a foreboding of some great misfortune. The news of the death of Hahnke's brother may conduce to this feeling. We heard of it only yesterday. One ought by this time to have got used to this sort of thing, and I thought I had become quite hardened, but to-day I feel my humanity very strongly.

On the whole, I do not think the situation is too roseate, though we have nothing to fear. Perhaps, too, it is the news that comes regarding the tenacious resistance of these Frenchmen, who, from all accounts, contemplate attempting another sortie about the middle of this month. They appear to be in some sort of communication with Tours, and among other means by balloon post. They have very much improved their balloons, and now have a means of steering them.

Gambetta, who is now the real Dictator, is publishing the most palpable untruths, which go out to the world and are believed. I should not at all wonder if

at last he is found out and gets hanged. At present he is dismissing general after general who does not happen to be lucky. Ten days ago it was Conte Keratry, now it is Aurelles de Paladines, who was commanding at Orleans.

The Grand-Duke has had another successful fight, and captured six cannon. His troops must, however, now be nearly spent, and should have several days' rest and refreshment. The Ninth Corps will probably reinforce him.

The enemy appears to be very strong at Drieck, Tours, Blois, and Le Mans. Nothing new here. Last week 433 shells were fired from Mont Valerien against the position of the Fifth Army Corps without wounding a single man, and people expect a decisive result from a bombardment of Paris—to my mind a proceeding worthy only of a subaltern. It is too absurd.

December 10.

This morning they tried to alarm me with a telegram from the outposts in front of Vaucresson, which told of a great noise, as of waggons, etc., on Mont Valerien. I remained in bed, and shortly it transpired that it was all nonsense.

Yesterday we heard that the army of the Grand-Duke had moved northwards of Beaugency, and was engaged in fighting again. I ordered General von Rheinbaben with four battalions and the Fifth Cavalry Division to Chartres, to better protect his right flank.

It really seems as though the Army of the Loire had in great part remained on the right bank, and

united with the Army of Brittany from Conlie. It will doubtless take several days' fighting before the enemy withdraws over the Loire, or allows himself to be pushed into Brittany.

According to a telegram from Tours, the Government has left that place and is betaking itself to Bordeaux.

Gambetta, the Dictator, says in this message that he has taken measures to insure the free movements of the army. This means that the bridges have not been broken, and that the troops can return over the Loire.

To-day the Grand-Duke has had some more fighting. General Wittich asks for more artillery, so two batteries of the Eleventh Corps shall follow him to-morrow.

There were again some inches of snow and some frost, most uncomfortable and unfavourable for bivouac and fighting. That will, however, soon end.

As soon as the French are driven over the Loire they will not be in a condition for any more fighting. Then there must be a pause for at least four weeks, perhaps six, in which Paris must fall. If only we were not being harassed by ignorant and incompetent persons to bombard the town! It can hardly have any effect, as the guns will scarcely range as far, and, moreover, they will have to keep down the fire of between 300 and 400 of the enemy's guns. It will not only cost us the lives of a great number of men, but will also make us a laughing-stock to the world. I cannot rid myself of the thought that bombardment without a sufficiency of matériel to carry it through

to a finish by regular siege would not only be idiotic, but that a well-tried and distinguished General who resorted to such methods would never be forgiven by history.

To yield up one's convictions to the judgment of unscientific and unjustifiable interference would be an unpardonable sign of weakness. That we are being forced is shown by a circumstance which occurred to-day. Count Bismarck sent to the Crown Prince a telegram from Delbrück in Berlin, saying that on Monday there would be a great disturbance in the House if the bombardment had not already begun. With such weapons I cannot fight.

To-day the War Minister, Von Roon, dined with the Crown Prince. I had to sit next to him. We both, however, took care to avoid the burning subject—bombardment. Each knew what the other had to say in the matter.

I received from my brother Louis the unwelcome news that he and his wife have arrived at Lagny, and travel in to Orleans to-morrow to nurse George. I cannot think that he will be overdelighted to see his mother in Orleans, where one is within range of the sound of battle, not twelve miles off. It is truly idiotic. Women have no part on the theatre of war. Moreover, George is only very slightly wounded.

The War Minister told me that Gambetta had not gone to Bordeaux, but to the army. It would be truly delightful if this upstart pseudo-Emperor were taken prisoner and sent to Cassel, or, better still, to Spangenberg.

December 11.

The night passed quite peacefully, and the day likewise. From Orleans comes news that the Third and Tenth Corps, as well as the Grand-Duke of Mecklenburg are taking two days' much-needed rest on the west side of Orleans, and then will move westwards. The enemy must be there in great strength, most probably with four or five corps.

Manstein has marched as far as Blois, and with his advanced guard has made a great number of prisoners and captured five guns and several ammunition columns.

From Paris nothing new; hunger is the chief topic.

As an instance of the determination with which Bismarck is pressing his point in the bombardment question, the following will serve. He is laid up with a bad leg, and so sent the Secretary of Legation, Abeken, to an audience with the King, with instructions to inform His Majesty that the excitement in Berlin on account of the delay in bombarding is so intense that they are in fear of insurrections.

The King at once telegraphed to the Governor of Berlin, General von Canstein, to take immediate steps to suppress every sign of disorder and riot. Bismarck had not expected this action on the part of the King, and sent word at once to him, before the telegram had started, that there was some misunderstanding: it was not as bad as all that, but what he meant was that the people were beginning to get impatient of the delay, and, moreover, military men were calling out for bombardment.

How far his wilfulness and obstinacy will carry him I know not ; he leaves, however, no stone unturned to gain his end.

General von Moltke, the Crown Prince told me, is in a high state of indignation.

We are still having hard frosts, and to-day I am suffering from an attack of biliousness.

These questions of the bombardment and the supply of horses annoy me more than is good for me. I must have a care, else I shall suffer.

This afternoon I went for a walk with Albrecht into the town.

One of Manteuffel's brigades has marched into Evreux and Vernon. We might move it here in case of necessity.

In the afternoon Consul Bamberg was here. He asked my advice about the railway. Five large business houses have approached him regarding the provision of food to the starving Parisians on the fall of the town.

Much as I desire to see this good object fulfilled at the earliest moment possible, I had to tell him that I have no authority in the matter of the railway service.

December 12.

This morning early I received a telegram from Wittich to the effect that my young nephew Curt died on the 8th. I have been most solicitous about him, and anxious beyond measure, and I am much shocked at this news.

He was a splendid young fellow, and had always been the greatest joy to his father. God's ways are

inscrutable, and we can only submit ourselves to His will. I can hardly bear to think of the grief of his parents. They only yesterday arrived at Orleans.

My brother Louis must already have received the news when he telegraphed from Ludwigshaven.

I am feeling very stiff in my limbs.

With the exception of a few shots from Mont Valerien, all was quiet here to-day.

Hahnke received the impression at Headquarters that all were against me in the question of the bombardment. They appear to imagine that the Crown Princess* and the Queen are influencing me to spare Paris. It is most extraordinary that men will not believe the naked truth. Science and Reason are the forces which deter me from a childish and purposeless bombardment. This they will not believe, but, as far as I read in the *Börsenzeitung*, they attribute my attitude to female influence.

These people know me very little, and if I do sometimes pay consideration to foreign influence, it is not by the ladies that my opinions or actions are guided.†

Yesterday more fighting took place on the Loire, and to-day the Army of the Loire is in retreat.

In the evening a M. de Bouffe was with me, a gentleman whom I knew in Paris years ago. He lives in a country seat here. He had many requests to make, and afterwards said to me that we should soon

* Eldest daughter of Queen Victoria of England, and afterwards the Empress Frederick.—TRANSLATOR.

† The Field-Marshal's wife, it will be remembered, was an English lady. Hence doubtless the aspersion.—TRANSLATOR.

have to leave the country or make peace, as we could not hold out. We were suffering terribly from typhus, and as Ducrot had broken through, and was now at Villeneuve St. Georges, we must retreat. These French accept the silliest lies if only it suits them to believe them.

I have received a telegram from my former Adjutant, Major von Giese, that Phalsburg has just surrendered to him after a three months' siege.

December 13.

All quiet again to-day.

I cannot get over my distress, and must take good heed to let no one observe it. My poor brother Louis and his wife are ever in my thoughts. How deep must be their pain! for they live only in their children, and in them is all their joy. I have written to Orleans to-day. This forenoon the English General Clermont paid me a visit. He came from Paris yesterday. Much against my will I was discreet enough to avoid questioning him, for he must have given his word not to make any communications to us. That must of necessity be the case. He told me a great deal of interesting news, however, and he appears to think that there is no real distress or famine in Paris, nor any loss of heart. We may therefore expect another sortie, but where it will be and when the gods alone know, though I am convinced that we shall be easily able to beat it off wherever it may come.

The Army of the Loire appears to have separated into two parts, one, consisting of three Army Corps,

having gone to Bourges, from whence it will operate against Orleans. It is commanded by Bourbaki, and Gambetta has joined it.

The second portion—perhaps four Army Corps strong—stands at Blois and Vendôme, and to-morrow morning the attack will doubtless be renewed against it, if it does not very quickly retire.

As Clermont says, it is a great pity and a great hindrance to peace that Trochu, whom he considers a very distinguished man and a most honourable one, is not elected President of the Government, and at the same time Commander-in-Chief.

This last qualification is, however, a hindrance to peace.

Clermont also told me that on September 19th the panic was so great that we might easily have entered the fortress, as at Düppel and Sebastopol. I think so, too, but we had not men enough to hold it; neither did we know the circumstances of the case. It is very easy to talk after the event, but I should not like to have given the order to storm the place. Perhaps I am too careful, and give too much thought to the sacrifice of men that such a proceeding would have cost.

In the evening several telegrams arrived from Rheinbaben at Chartres, telling that Châteaudun is occupied, and that 25,000 men are expected there. All the better, for then we shall have a really decisive engagement, and most likely succeed in completely overthrowing the enemy.

After dinner Count Solms was here. He had heard from a Bourbonist gentleman of standing that there is

likely to be a reaction against the rule of Gambetta the Dictator, in favour of a new Government and a new National Assembly. I hope it will be so.

The Crown Prince was in very high spirits, and appears greatly pleased at the arrival of a deputation from the Reichstag to bring the King the title of Emperor.

December 14.

All was quiet in the night ; at least, I did not hear a shot fired.

In the morning the Crown Prince came to me in my room, and told me that he had received a letter from the Crown Princess, in which she said that there was a very strong feeling in Berlin against herself and the Queen, because the people thought that they, acting under the influence of the Queen of England, were discountenancing the so-called bombardment.

I am convinced that this is some deep intrigue. The idea has been evoked and encouraged by the newspapers, and how far it will extend I am sure I do not know. This, however, is clear, that if we give in to it we shall soon arrive at the same condition of affairs as the French are enjoying, and shall return to the days of 1848.

If we allow ourselves to be driven by the so-called 'Voice of the People,' as the newspapers call it, to adopt measures in opposition to reason and to all military science, it will be an end to generalship. The people will have to try us by court-martial, turn us out, and appoint in our places lawyers and newspaper correspondents. These will obey its will, but whether

they will improve matters and attain its object is another matter.

If the King yields to such an intrigue, it will be the turning-point of our fortune and our successes. With a bombardment we destroy ourselves, even if by any accident it prove successful.

We are even now reproached with the great sacrifices we have made, but they leave out of all consideration the far greater sacrifices that will befall us if a bombardment or an assault take place.

To-day we received an anonymous communication from Berlin, which appeals for a bombardment under any circumstances, in order to prevent all sorts of riots and insurrections. Count Frankenberg, too, who has just arrived from Berlin, told us of the extent of this feeling there.

The people must have been driven to madness by the newspapers and intrigues, and it will give me the greatest pleasure to see how this spirit will in time to come turn and rend the originators.

It is exactly what happened at Düppel, and I have lived to witness it. The news has arrived from my wife that Laura was delivered of a bouncing boy at Düsseldorf on the 11th. At the same time arrived a despatch announcing the fall of the Fortress of Montmédy, which has been giving a lot of trouble to Reimar.*

No further news from my brother Louis in Orleans; if I could only get a letter from him, perhaps I should feel more at rest. The death of dear Curt lies like a stone on my heart.

* Son-in-law of the Field-Marshal.

It has become suddenly warm, and the temperature stands above 10 degrees, while a continuous rain is falling. It began yesterday, while I was taking a walk through the town, and I got drenched.

At mid-day Prince Wittgenstein and General Clermont, the English General, who had both come out of Paris, were here. We were of course unable to question them, but they let out so much in conversation that we were able to gather that Paris is still provided with from two to three weeks' supplies.

December 15.

A great quiet prevails, and nothing new has transpired. It is very warm and unhealthy weather.

The enemy is beginning to entrench in front of Mont Valerien, near Nanterre and Reuill ; I do not think, however, that he will make a sortie from that quarter again. He has already been severely handled there.

The French Western Army appears to be retiring, but whether it is being pursued by the Grand-Duke and Prince Frederick Charles has not been reported. To-day I have sent General von Rheinbaben with the Fifth Cavalry Division, three battalions and four batteries from Chartres to Brie ; possibly he may strike the enemy in flank or rear. Will he, however, go forward boldly ? I doubt it.

The Western Army must have a great number of sick, and must be melting away. News of this sort, however, I no longer trust.

In the afternoon I took a ride alone in the park, as

I felt the necessity of being alone. Still no news from my brother Louis.

Day after day passes in almost the same monotony, and the time would hang heavily enough had I not so much to do. It is true that the number of reports of events, mostly of the utmost insignificance, makes variety of a kind. I am not, so to speak, bored ; but I cannot say that there is much joy or pleasure in the life. The best time is in the evening, after dinner, when we can express our thoughts without undue restraint. Unfortunately, the Crown Prince seldom sits down, and I cannot bear standing about ; sometimes I have tried to get up a game of whist, but I have not sufficient patience for the game, and prefer conversation with those who come to us quite unreservedly, and smoke their cigars with us. At these times the Crown Prince smokes his short pipe, and is most genial and talkative, putting everyone at his ease. We all feel how pleasant and agreeable it is. Grumblers and growlers have no place here, but are called to order generally by some witty retort or smart rejoinder.

December 16.

The strategical situation is again most interesting to-day. Yesterday Prince Frederick Charles attacked the Western Army near Vendôme, with what result we have not yet heard. It seems to me that the enemy's plan is to retreat westwards with the western force, and draw Prince Frederick Charles after him, whilst Bourbaki with the Army of the Loire, Garibaldi, etc., advance by Montargis and Fontainebleau on Paris.

Then there will be a sortie to unite with the relieving army. The beginning was made yesterday by an advance of Bourbaki's vanguard to Gien, on the right bank of the Loire. General von der Tann, who is at Orleans with from 6,000 to 8,000 men, cannot stop their advance.

According to my calculations, Bourbaki should arrive at Melun on the 20th, and we shall then have to move against him in great strength, retaining, however, sufficient troops here to withstand a sortie. We shall have at least the Second and perhaps the Twelfth Army Corps, and the six battalions of the Guards-Landwehr Division, available, and perhaps also some battalions of the Second Bavarian and Sixth Corps, as well as the Fifth and its Corps Artillery, so that at Melun we can concentrate some sixty battalions with a strong force of artillery and cavalry.

To meet the sortie we shall have only the Würtembergers and the Sixth Army Corps, unless the Guard Corps by that time has been sent back to us by Manteuffel. Prince Frederick Charles can hardly be here in time, even if he starts to-morrow from Vendôme; neither can Zastrow, who is on the march from Chatillon to Auxerre.

If, however, we strike Bourbaki at Melun, the story of Sedan will be repeated, for then he will be surrounded on all sides by the returning troops, who will attack simultaneously.

I fancy, however, that Bourbaki will not advance so swiftly with his 120,000 men, but that before he reaches Melun he will be placed in a very ugly position.

If he does come on, I shall consider his move as a decisive one for the campaign, and three weeks afterwards the whole thing will be finished.

From Paris we have received the first information that has come to us for two weeks. A stubborn resistance to the Government appears to be gaining head. There are also in the papers several sensible articles in favour of peace. The much-belauded unity of the Parisians will receive a severe shock.

The everlasting question of the bombardment is still on the tapis, and to-morrow there is to be a conference on the subject at General von Moltke's quarters. I have requested the Crown Prince's leave to be absent, for I am considered a partisan, and everyone knows my opinion.

Yesterday a balloon ascended from Paris, but came down at Wetzlar. The papers it carried are now on their way here, and will be highly interesting. The two men who were in it have been taken to Coblenz. It is not unlikely that one of them is General Ducrot, who is reported by the newspapers to have left Paris to join the relieving army.

From the Second Corps a report has just arrived that a tin box containing Government despatches for Paris has started, and will be brought here by mail-cart.

To-day the weather was beautifully warm, and I rode to General von Moltke to talk with him over the situation ; then I walked with Hahnke in the park.

Louis has telegraphed from Orleans that he is going to bring Curt's remains to Frankfort-on-Oder.

To-day there is no information of General Bourbaki's advance ; on the other hand, we have news of a success gained by the Tenth Corps at Vendôme, and the capture of six of the enemy's guns. The greater part of Prince Frederick Charles's army will now return to Orleans to be ready to meet Bourbaki.

A mass of correspondence regarding the transport of ammunition. The old story over again ! The War Minister has managed affairs so that the ammunition will be here complete in fourteen days—that is, before his Military Transport Corps is formed to bring it.

At 10.30 I was summoned to the King's presence and ordered to attend the conference which is being held to decide what is to be done with regard to the bombardment.

The result has been that, since the ammunition is not all here, we must wait for it, and then decide.

A regular siege cannot be carried on, as the means are not to hand.

The simple problem of limiting ourselves to the blockade and reduction by starvation, which is certain of success, and the utilization of our heavy guns for the strengthening of our positions, was not even discussed. I could not suggest it, else I should have provoked the insinuation that I was trying to make use of every means possible to postpone a bombardment.

It was very interesting to me to see how certain of the members were willing to compromise when they thought that the King was in favour of a bombardment. How seldom it is that men in such circumstances speak their minds truly and honestly,

without regard to consequences! I, at least, have always tried to do so.

Besides the King, the Crown Prince, and Moltke, the following were present: Hindersin, Kleist, Schulz, Rieff, Albedyll, Podbielski, Boyen, Roon, and myself.

The professional soldiers all deprecated the useless and childish idea of a bombardment. The War Minister alone was in favour of it, and he glared at us most angrily and resentfully. I really hope that this futile idea, with all the sacrifices it must cost us, will be rendered unnecessary by a speedy capitulation.

To-day we had again beautiful warm weather, the sky, however, overcast. I rode with Sandraat to the gun emplacements at Marly, and inspected the abbatis formed by him there. He will receive the name 'Minister for the Improvement of Woods and Forests,' as he is burning and cutting down all the lovely villas and parks between Vaucresson and St. Cloud that lie within his field of fire!

December 18.

To-day nothing but worry about this infernal transport of ammunition. I am pleased, however, that the War Minister has at last followed our advice, and appointed a Commandant over the whole department of Transport—Colonel von Bronikowski.

From Moltke came a memorandum setting forth the principles upon which the war should now be carried on. I heartily approve them.

Paris to be resolutely invested, but the field armies exterior to the lines of investment are to be drawn in

nearer, so as to be able to support each other in the event of a closer approach of the relieving armies.

With this intent, the First Army is to take up its headquarters at Creil, throwing out strong detachments to Rouen, Amiens, and St. Quentin, in order to clear the country of Franc-tireurs and other banditti.

To the westwards the Grand-Duke is to establish himself in Chartres and Dreux.

To the south Prince Frederick Charles is to remain at Orleans, with detachments at or in the propinquity of Blois and Gien.

General von Zastrow to remain at Auxerre. Von Werder most likely at Dijon.

From the Fatherland reserve battalions will be called up to garrison Alsatia and Metz.

Towards mid-day Consul Bamberg came to me and suggested an idea that had not struck me. The Parisians, it appears, are greatly alarmed lest we should bombard the Louvre and St. Église, and have hung mattresses round these buildings. When, however, we begin to fire, and they see that our guns will only carry as far as their suburbs, they will at once feel themselves secure, and begin to despise our efforts. They appear to imagine that we have cannon that will carry over a range of four miles ! As soon as they see that this is not the case they will at once take heart and begin to laugh at us.

At two o'clock I went with the Crown Prince to the Préfecture, where thirty members of the Reichstag presented an address to the King. He was much moved, and at times could hardly speak.

In a few days the communication of the King of Bavaria, together with the assent of all the German Princes, will be presented, and then he will become Emperor.

At three o'clock the deputation arrived here, and was solemnly received by the Crown Prince.

Mont Valerien is firing away lustily. News from Rheinbaben that he has at last had a fight, and taken from the enemy, near Drou, a dozen prisoners, some provisions, and sixty head of cattle. Whether the Grand-Duke also had a fight yesterday I have not heard.

In the evening I played a rubber of whist.

December 19.

The enemy has again opened a lively cannonade, with what intention is hard to say. He is continually throwing up entrenchments and pushing forwards, chiefly, one would think, to keep his workmen employed, and so out of mischief.

The news from outside is that Werder has attacked and defeated Garibaldi, near Nuits. Prince William of Baden and General von Glümer were unfortunately wounded.

Zastrow is at Auxerre, Manteuffel at Beauvais. Voigts-Rhetz pursues the enemy towards Le Mans and Tours, Rheinbaben towards Le Mans.

Prince Frederick Charles, with the Third and Ninth Army Corps, is at Orleans.

The Grand-Duke must retire on Chartres.

During the day all was going on quietly, and so I made an expedition on horseback in the park.

At mid-day the deputation from the Reichstag arrived with Count Bismarck.

The latter sat down beside me on a sofa, after dinner, and began to converse with me about the bombardment. He combated all my arguments so cleverly and with such flattering unction that I nearly laughed aloud. He said to me that it was never his wish to bombard ; he was perfectly aware that the town could not be touched by our fire ; but the political necessities of the case rendered it most important that we should show that we are in earnest. We are compelled to bombard, even if it be only fifty shots fired at the forts ; otherwise it would be impossible for him to prevent foreign Powers—Russia and England he meant—from intervening. All thought that our resources were at an end.

My argument that such an idea did not justify us as soldiers behaving foolishly, and acting in opposition to our better judgment, he would not listen to, as he said that war could not be carried on without a consideration of political results, and that politics must play their part in it. He could only state to me that policy demanded it, but as for proving it, here was neither time nor place.

Without such proof, on the other hand, I could not allow that we ought to bombard. All I could say was that I should not prevent the bombardment commencing as soon as the ammunition arrived, which must be the case within five or six days. He had no compunction in laying on flattery thickly, but to such influences, thank God, I am as impervious as armour-plate.

In further conversation he complained bitterly of the treatment he was receiving at the hands of the King and of Moltke, who had left him for some time now without any information regarding the course of events; in fact, they had both been quite discourteous, even rude, to him.

He declared most positively that he would not remain Minister one hour after the war was over. This inconsiderate and impolite treatment he could no longer suffer, and it must cease or it would kill him.

He appeared to be quite beside himself, and, among other things, said that he had given his advice against a siege, and considered it a great error, even as far as an investment was concerned, for we should never now be able to find anyone with whom to treat for peace. He would willingly reinstate the Emperor and restore to him his loyal troops now prisoners of war. The poor sick man was no longer an object of alarm. The King, however, would not hear of it.

I think the King is right. I cannot say that I think the situation, as regards foreign influence, so threatening, and consider that we must take Paris without the interference of outsiders, and must put pressure upon the French until they submit. Necessity will soon compel them to yield; but to halt at half-measures now would be the greatest error of all, let Bismarck say what he will.

One sign will show how excited he was. Among other things he said to me that he entered on this war as a Royalist, but that he came out of it far from

being so. After the war was over he would no longer remain a Minister.

He complained about a number of trivial matters with regard to which Moltke and the General Staff—he meant Podbielski—had not taken him into their confidence; moreover, that he had had some very discourteous letters written to him.

I saw quite clearly that after all his antecedents, which had raised him to such a height, it was quite impossible for him ever to play second fiddle again.

It appears to him almost an absurdity that there should be others in the same circle who want to play their rôles, and are able to play them, and that there should be things which another person may be better able to understand than he.

I can see that he has pretty often thrown down his last trump and threatened to retire. This appears to me a very unjustifiable step. It would, in fact, be a great misfortune for Prussia if he were to 'cut the painter.'

December 20.

This morning transport worries; otherwise no news. The French continue to fire and to entrench. The letters from the balloon came here yesterday, and have amused us greatly.

From them we gather that the Parisians are provided with at least four—possibly six—weeks' supplies. All letters allude to this subject, so it is evidently the burning topic in their minds.

The general feeling in Paris is one of exultation, really because they have not learnt of the defeat of

the Army of the Loire, and that the sortie of December 2nd has been represented to them as a victory.

It is almost incredible that these vain people should not believe the truth ; they will not even suspect it, and wilfully allow themselves to be deceived.

The sky to-day was overclouded, but I took a ride through the wood between Viroflay and Fausses-Reposes. I shall not do so again, however, as I found myself alone in the midst of a dozen or so wild-looking French woodcutters. In this very wood some of our soldiers were shot at a short time ago.

December 21.

To-day was a very eventful day. Yesterday evening I received the news from Count Moltke that a sortie on the Marne was expected, and so gave orders that the Fourth Division should be moved to a position in rear of the right wing of the Wurtembergers, and I arranged that a brigade of the Sixth Corps should be moved to the right bank of the Seine in case it were wanted.

A confirmation of this news I found in the infernal cannonade that was kept up all night. In the morning came reports that troops were advancing from Mont Valerien, and were trying to throw a bridge over the river at Chatou, and so forth.

At half-past ten the Commandant, General von Voigts-Rhetz, came and told me that a lady well known to him had informed him, with tears in her eyes, that a company of Franc-tireurs had crept into our midst to make an attempt on the lives of the

King, Bismarck, and the Crown Prince. As there were some suspicious signs, we had the gates locked at two o'clock, and a search made all round for loafers and weapons. Some twenty men and about 100 weapons were brought in, but only one man who was at all suspicious—a painter who had a loaded revolver and a dagger on him. It was evidently a false alarm.

False attacks have been made at Nanterre and Chatou as well as at St. Denis, where there was a fight with some troops of the Fourth Corps.

The real attack was made by three divisions upon the Guards at Le Bourget, and a demonstration was made against the Saxons at Mont Avron.

The Guards beat back the attack principally with artillery. The Saxons will be engaged to-morrow; the Fourth Division and a portion of the Wurtembergers will come to their aid. A cold east wind is blowing, and it is freezing hard.

December 22.

This morning worries on the siege question; afterwards reports from all hands.

The Guards took over 1,000 prisoners yesterday, with very slight loss to themselves. The Saxons took in the night, after severe fighting, La Maison Blanche, which the French had occupied.

The Wurtembergers received the enemy with the fire of two heavy 40-pounders on their advance on Noisy.

At mid-day reports arrived that the enemy was advancing in force, with strong columns from Neuilly,

Rosny, and Bobigny ; it appears, however, to have been of little importance, as towards evening they had all retired to their posts.

During yesterday's infernal cannonade from Point du Jour, and also during that of the previous night, Sèvres was badly bombarded, and many houses destroyed ; also from Mont Valerien those in Chatou suffered greatly.

Thus do the French show their futile rage without purpose and without results. We have very few wounded among our troops, whereas in Sèvres many of the inhabitants were killed. It is frightfully cold, with a bitter east wind. This latter caught the French in their faces, and did much to send them home again.

In my room, with its four windows, I cannot keep warm. I sit in the chimney with my cloak on round a fire of damp wood, which will not burn—a miserable condition of affairs.

December 23.

To-night a telegram arrived from the Army of the Meuse, according to which a deserter has warned them of a sortie in great strength which is to be made against L'Hay and Chevilly.

I could not believe it, as all other indications of such a movement were wanting ; and as the Sixth Corps and the Second Bavarians are always most watchful, I did not wish to alarm them, and so kept quiet.

Until mid-day all appeared to be quiet, but at one o'clock distant firing was audible, and it has continued without cessation until now—five o'clock in the evening.

From telegrams received, a heavy cannonade is going on between St. Denis and Bondy, also on the northern face. We shall soon receive an explanation. A deserter has mentioned that for some time the men have lost faith in General Trochu, and now call him *Le Trompeur*.

In the forenoon there was a conference at my house on the siege question. There were present Rieff, Schulz, and Bronikowski. Matters are beginning to adjust themselves now that the transport arrangements are working properly. The affair is a sort of endless screw to me, and gives enough trouble to choke one.

It was no great blow to me, when the Crown Prince returned from his audience of the King, to hear that, by order of the War Minister, Rieff and Schulz would most likely be relieved from duty on the Siege Committee. The latter has completed his preparations some time ago, and has done very well; he told me that they are to be replaced by Kameke and Hohenlohe.

So we are again to have new brooms and new oars. Who knows that I shall not now be turned out? In spite of all intrigues, they will not find it easy to do so.

I have a good conscience, and feel that I have not only done my duty thoroughly, but that I have recognised such things as were necessary here. The disappointments and aspersions which I have to bear are nothing new to me; indeed, the gracious kindness of the Crown Prince and his loyal support make them of trivial moment. I am very curious to know what will

be the outcome of all this, if Moltke does not control affairs with a tighter hand.

I am so glad that the firing—or so-called bombardment—has not commenced yet, and am still rejoicing that the whole of the ammunition is not yet to hand, although, as was my duty, I have done everything in my power to hasten matters. It will not be a difficult matter for me to prove this. It is, indeed, a blessing that the King remains stanch, and will not hear of this childish idea of opening fire from a portion of the guns, just to make a noise.

When the new people come, they will first have to make themselves acquainted with affairs up to date before they can adopt any reasonable reform, and so the siege will be still further delayed.

The weather is beautiful and fine, but fearfully cold, and thick ice is on the ground. I have had a stove put in my room so as to get some warmth.

According to reports, up till now (10 p.m.) the Saxons appear only to have been subjected to a severe cannonade.

The enemy, however, is in great force outside the forts at Bondy, Neuilly, etc., and is continually being reinforced, so that we may fully expect another sortie, which will probably be his last.

From a deserter's report, the regular troops are not willing to fight any more. It has become a butchery.

When I entered my room to-day, I found it full of charcoal fumes, as my servant had committed the stupidity of drying my wood on the iron top of the stove.

December 24.

To-day (Christmas Eve) we expected a tremendous sortie, but, with the exception of a few shells falling about, we have had complete rest.

It is fearfully cold, -10° Réaumur.

No news from without.

In the afternoon I walked my three miles to the basin. At five o'clock we dined, and at seven had Christmas festivities, namely, a Christmas-tree and presents, which we had bought for each other, and which were afterwards raffled for.

In my room, which is now delightfully warm, I can work up my arrears and write my letters. It is very pleasant when I think of the cold and uncomfortable days I have spent here.

December 25.

To-day we received memoranda and telegrams from Moltke saying that Manteuffel could not advance beyond Amiens, as the enemy was in great strength and was entrenching himself.

A brigade of the Fourth Corps with two batteries was at once sent forward to Manteuffel by train, and replaced in their position here by some of the Landwehr Division of the Guards. That gave me plenty to write about and to telegraph till one o'clock, when the Crown Prince returned from the King. At this moment a telegram arrived from Manteuffel saying that he was in pursuit of the flying enemy and required no further reinforcements.

As, however, a sortie is expected from Paris from the same quarter as the day before yesterday, the

Landwehr Division of the Guards, six battalions, and two batteries, shall remain with the Fourth Corps.

In the afternoon I had to write instructions to Tann, who arrives at Etampes to-morrow with his corps, and is to occupy cantonments at Monthéry and Arpajon.

Then I had to write to Rheinbaben to send back at once three battalions of the Guards-Landwehr Division and the batteries of artillery. He will have to occupy with his division and two other battalions the lines between Dreux and Mantes.

In the afternoon came a report that the pontoon bridge at Villeneuve St. Georges had been broken down and carried away completely by the ice. All communications are therefore interrupted, and everything must go by Corbeil. This will greatly delay the transport of ammunition.

To-night the thermometer stood at -10° Réaumur, and it is still bitterly cold. I took, however, a short walk with Herkt in the wood.

After dinner the Crown Prince came back from an interview with the King, and told me that Bismarck wished a salute fired (bombardment?), or, at least, that the Crown Prince should publish a laudatory order about the Bavarians, because the day after to-morrow the Bavarian Parliament meets, and a compliment of this sort would very favourably affect their vote. Of course he refused.

That Bismarck should desire to make use of such means makes one suspicious of him. Politics of this kind usually bring about a sharp reaction.

My wife writes me that just as they gave her a

torchlight serenade after the Battle of Wörth, so now she is expecting 'rough music,' as I, equally with the Crown Prince, have become most unpopular on account of our opposition to bombardment.

The man in the street *will* have his say, and I really do not know which is most immaterial to me, his love or his hatred.

December 26.

It is, perhaps, a little milder to-day; still, it is abominably cold, and now Mont Valerien has begun again right lustily, so as to make my windows rattle.

Hardly any news from outside, except that the French are reported to be concentrating south of Lyons to oppose Werder at Dijon.

General Zastrow has received the order to proceed from Auxerre to Dijon to support him.

It is also believed that Bourbaki has marched with the First Army thither,* and it is supposed that the French intend not only to relieve Belfort, but also Nancy, and possibly mean to invade Germany. This last move would hardly be of any avail, and it is doubtful whether the invading troops would ever reach France again. We have quite enough troops there to combat such an enterprise.

I am more and more convinced that my plan for reducing Paris, viz., by starvation, is the right one.

The argument that this will take too long I cannot allow, for I am persuaded that a bombardment or a regular attack of the fortress will last equally long. I cannot see, moreover, any drawback in the prolonga-

* Lyons.

tion of the investment. On the contrary, it has this advantage, that it will force the enemy to make greater exertions to relieve the city ; for as soon as he has gathered together an army of respectable proportions he will certainly move to its relief and be properly whipped, for his organization must necessarily be imperfect for want of time.

If we had Paris in our possession, it would not be any the better for us ; in fact, it would make our situation less favourable.

If we had to occupy Paris in adequate strength, we should not be strong enough to follow up the enemy in the south, nor to disturb his organization. He would in that case find time to mobilize and thoroughly drill an army with which to move against us.

That this reasoning is unimpeachably sound I am not prepared absolutely to maintain, but there is sufficient in it to authorize our declining to make any great sacrifices in trying to precipitate a capitulation. The difference of a week or two sooner or later would be of small consequence in comparison.

This afternoon Hohenlohe was with me, and expressed himself extremely dissatisfied with the position he found himself in, which, by the terms of the Cabinet order appointing him, makes him entirely the sport of the winds. He is willing to bombard the forts, since the King desires it, but he is most unwilling to commence a formal attack by siege operations without adequate means of consummation.

Half-measures of this sort must necessarily be most distasteful to every real soldier.

What a soldier has to do must always be done with

energy and precision, and in an undertaking like the siege of a town with more than 400,000 armed defenders, he cannot behave like the merest Ensign, otherwise science and the military art go for nothing.

As the bridges near Corbeil and those of Villeneuve St. Georges have been carried away by ice, the ammunition trains will be several days delayed, and so the policy of starvation be given a better chance.

A deserter told us to-day that great dissatisfaction exists on the part of the soldiers, who do not want any longer to fight, and that they are very discontented with their treacherous Government. It is not improbable that a catastrophe will take place within the course of a few days.

To-morrow Mont Avron will be bombarded by the Crown Prince of Saxony with seventy-six heavy guns.

Of course, this is neither a bombardment of Paris nor of the forts, but it may surprise them a little, as it is not expected.

In the afternoon I took a walk with Herkt to the camp at Sartory, during which we ran after a hare, like two children.

At mid-day the King was here, looking very well and happy.

*Les Ombrages de Versailles,
December 27.*

This morning there was a heavy fall of snow, but, nevertheless, at seven o'clock the bombardment of the newly built batteries on the north-east front, said to contain forty pieces, was commenced from our

seventy-six heavy guns. We could hear the firing going on up till evening. I do not think that we shall succeed in silencing him utterly, in spite of our superiority in matériel and the excellent positions in which our artillery is placed.

We always overestimate the effect of artillery against the guns of the enemy, and the works in which they are placed.

When its work is to prepare a way for infantry its power is undoubtedly great, but against earthworks we are inclined to set too high a value on its efficiency.

That will be apparent as soon as we come to bombard Forts Issy and Vanves. This contingency, however, appears still to be at a considerable distance, in spite of the intrigues of my lord the Minister.

To-day Prince Hohenlohe was again with the Crown Prince. He told me he did not believe that the bombardment could commence before the 6th or 7th of January, as the necessary ammunition could not be up till that date. He also seems to think, after having made a careful reconnaissance, that the whole affair is idiotic, and only finds his excuse for taking part in it in the fact that the King now appears to desire it.

I am curious to know what Kameke will say.

In the afternoon I took a walk with Meyer and Albrecht in the park, and looked on at the skating. In the morning Axel von Koppelow* was here. He brought some presents from Mecklenburg.

* A distant relation of the Field-Marshal.

December 28.

This morning again the weather is very dull.

Yesterday's cannonade, as I prophesied, has had no appreciable result, only that, perhaps, it has shown us that we somewhat underestimated the effects of artillery-fire. What will be said, I wonder, when no results are apparent after five or six days' practice?

Near Vendôme and Beaugency the enemy has again appeared. We can now soon commence operations against him.

In the afternoon I went to the castle to see the picture - galleries. Afterwards Axel Koppelow remained with me about an hour or so. It did me great good to talk with someone about home.

Sunday, December 29.

To-day is a general rest-day, but the news came to hand that the enemy has really appeared in force of about a division near Vendôme, and had surrounded six reconnoitring companies under Lieutenant-Colonel von Bolternstern.

He cut his way through, however, but lost ten officers and 250 men taken prisoners.

At mid-day Fritz* turned up quite suddenly, looking very well and cheery. Albrecht and I accompanied him to the reservoir, where he left us at four o'clock.

In the evening, at dinner-time, we received the good news that Mont Avron had not only been

* The Field-Marshal's youngest son.

silenced, but had been abandoned, and was now occupied by one of our companies.

It is, I must say, much more than I expected, and a proof that it was not so strongly armed as we thought, and, moreover, that the French are no longer making a serious stand.

At the same time we must not deceive ourselves into the idea that the defence on the south front will be so paltry. The conditions here are quite otherwise.

Kameke, who arrived here yesterday, appears to agree with me in my view of the state of affairs.

He likewise considers that we have not half enough matériel for a siege, and that we shall have to confine ourselves to a bombardment of the two forts which the King now desires to be fired at. He wants then to try some sort of practice on Notre Dame de Clamart, but it is not to be concealed that difficulties may arise if no successful result follows.

People will not see what contempt we bring ourselves into if we embark on a project, and then have to confess that we are unable to carry it through. Everyone counts on hunger, but seems to think that the Parisians will become more hungry through fear, and will capitulate. I am inclined to think that a bombardment will cause them to forget the pangs of hunger for some days. I shall be only too delighted if I am mistaken.

December 30.

To-day we have four or five degrees of frost and a north wind. Nothing new of importance.

Mont Avron has been completely deserted by the enemy and occupied by us. It looks as though we were approaching the end.

This afternoon I had to send despatches under flag of truce to Mr. Washburne, the American Minister in Paris, notifying that we will provide M. Jules Favre with the necessary passport to proceed on the 3rd of January to London, where the Conference on the Russian Question is to be held.

It is thought that the question of peace will likewise be discussed, and be pressed by the neutral Powers.

In the afternoon I went for a walk with Herkt into the park.

Good news from Louis! George is progressing favourably, and Langenbeck has sent me word that the condition of the wound is normal.

December 31.

This morning early all was still. It is very cold.

Rheinbaben reports that the enemy is in force, with some 10,000 men, at Brionne, north-west of Evreux.

Immediately after lunch, at two o'clock, Kameke, Hohenlohe, and Schulz came to me to arrange about the plan of bombardment, which in the course of a few days will have to take place. The Crown Prince was here, too, and we were soon agreed on what to do, for there is no great difficulty in the matter.

The forts are to be silenced first, and then a few advanced batteries are to bombard the city in the neighbourhood of Notre Dame de Clamart.

Hohenlohe maintains that we can range 9,200 paces, and that this was told him by a specialist—an artillery

officer—who knows more about the matter than Rieff. This is something quite new if it is the case, which I greatly doubt; but if so, we shall be able to fire as far as the Prussian Embassy, and place a large portion of the city in jeopardy. But that it will have any more success I must at present be allowed to doubt, if it were not that it takes place simultaneously with the starvation policy.

It really appears, from the English newspapers, that the Parisians have from three to four weeks' provisions still.

Letters to-day have arrived, under a flag of truce, for Moltke and Count Solms.

I fancy Kameke is rather astonished that I have allowed so many to put in an oar.

To-day we had a sumptuous dinner—St. Sylvester's evening—and in the evening the young people had a wine-party and consumed punch.

I must get into bed at once, as I have caught a chill, and feel that I have a cold in the head threatening.

January 1.

The New Year commenced, as usual, with congratulatory addresses on all sides. Then, in full fig, we drove to the chapel of the Château, and listened to a very bad sermon, which took an interminable time, in spite of the cold weather.

Manteuffel is making more prisoners in the north; and in the south-west, in the neighbourhood of Vendôme, the Twentieth Division has beaten back the enemy and captured four guns.

There are signs on all sides that famine is increasing

in Paris. We get Parisian journals, and read therein great demoralization. I cannot think that they will make another sortie.

After service the King received all the officers present in the lovely Glass Gallery of the Château, and made a very touching speech. His Majesty also spoke to several officers singly, and, among others, he conversed with me.

He thanked me for all that I have done in previous years in such kind tones that I could find no words to reply. He wished, evidently, to speak kindly to me before others to compensate me for the many vexations and slights that I have had to put up with of late.

After the audience the Crown Prince told me that the 4th had been appointed as the date for the commencement of the bombardment.

Although I would willingly have seen it deferred till some days later, still, it is quite possible that the time has come when a bombardment of the forts and a portion of the city may be successful.

The results at Mont Avron were so brilliant that here, too, in spite of the superiority in number of the enemy's artillery, we may likewise expect good results.

In the afternoon I studied well all the arrangements. Then I dined at the King's table, when he was again most gracious, and at seven o'clock I held a conference with Schulz and Rieff, to settle all details of the bombardment. Stein was there, too.

I must send another order off to the Second Army Corps, which is marching to join Prince Frederick

Charles at Montargis. This will be replaced in the position by the First Bavarian Corps.

January 2.

This morning I was overwhelmed with an amount of work quite unusual, and among other things had to issue orders regarding the bombardment.

They want the date of the bombardment, which is to commence on the 4th, to be kept secret, but this will be a difficult matter.

The fortress was most unusually still yesterday, as if the gunners had been frozen out.

In the afternoon I took a walk to the town, which did me much good, though I still feel the effect of the chill.

Everything is covered with snow.

In the south and west the enemy still appears to be on the move.

To-day I received news of the capture of Mézières by my division.*

The transport service of ammunition goes without a hitch now that it is in the hands of Bronikowski.

January 3.

Nothing new from outside. I had so much to do to-day that I hardly knew whether I was standing on my head or my heels.

Added to this the unpleasant suggestion that was made to Hahnke at Headquarters, that the secret of the bombardment has not been strictly kept, and that the blame is laid upon me or upon my Staff.

* The Fourteenth Division.

I went at once to Moltke and Podbielski and told them that I would soon discover the person who had spread that falsehood, and call him to answer for it.

The idea of keeping the matter absolutely secret was too impossible, considering the number of people who had to know about it, and they could not all be expected to maintain silence. Moreover, the orders had to be issued yesterday evening, and to-day horses had to be told off, etc., in order to be sufficiently forward with our preparations. Up to this moment (10.30 in the evening) not a shot has been fired, but all is going on satisfactorily. We are all very keen for to-morrow, for if the weather is not too dull we shall begin to bombard the forts at daybreak.

This morning at the conference Colonel von Rieff gave utterance to his opinion that a few shells should be dropped into the city.

I told him that he had no order to do so, that the forts and their collateral works alone were to be bombarded, and that if he did this thing he would do it on his own responsibility, and, moreover, that I should demand a court of enquiry.

I am perfectly aware that the King and Bismarck would much like to see a few bombshells fall into the city ; I cannot, however, shut my eyes to the fact that the odium of such a proceeding, absurd as it is from a military point of view, would fall upon the Crown Prince.

I shall offer no objection if Paris is regularly and properly besieged ; in fact, I now hope it may come to that, as it seems to be the only means of bringing their inflamed passions to order. Whatever takes

place, however, must be carried out properly. A few casual shells dropped in among them will not frighten even the gamins of Paris. The Parisians must be made to feel that we have them in the hollow of our hand, otherwise they will not give in.

I said this to Moltke, and he agreed with me, and intends to offer the suggestion to-morrow to the King.

It is at present extraordinarily clear, but in the distance there is a mist ; the ground is frozen so hard that the Engineers can hardly work.

Everything is quiet, even Mont Valerien.

Just now I thought I heard a distant sound of guns ; it came, however, from the unfortunate sentries outside my house, who must have much difficulty in keeping their feet warm. The temperature is between -5° and -6° Réaumur—perhaps lower.

January 4.

The arming of the batteries and the covering of them by advance parties in the night has succeeded splendidly, so much so that the movement was quite unnoticed by the enemy. Not a shot was fired, and the whole of the south front looks as though it might be dead.

I almost think that the enemy means to give up all the forts, and confine his defence to those of the enceinte. Why he should do so is, however, not very apparent.

Early this morning there was a severe hoar-frost and such a mist that one could not see more than 300 yards ahead, and so we could not commence firing. A great advantage—namely, that of surprise—will now

be denied to us, for I cannot help thinking that the Parisians will have got wind of our arming the batteries. I have, furthermore, received reports from Paris that extensive movements are going on in the city by means of the railroad. Whether this betokens a sortie against the batteries I know not. I think not, however, as no preparations for such an enterprise have been reported.

If only we had clear weather !

The question of the few bombshells is decided. The King has commanded that the matter shall be placed in the hands of Prince Hohenlohe, who has his special commands and instructions on the subject.

It can now no longer be said that this subaltern's jest emanates from the Crown Prince. He will have no half-measures.

At dinner I met Prince Albert,* who said to me that it was commonly reported that I was averse to a bombardment, and that it was put down to the influence of the Crown Princess. This raised my ire considerably, and I told him that whoever had told him that was a liar, and that His Royal Highness was at liberty to tell him so.

What people mean by spreading such infamous untruths is to me inexplicable, unless it is the inherent wickedness of human nature which exists in all of us, though we may not know it.

Versailles is now a hotbed of gossip—a five-o'clock-tea-party, only much worse, and more harmful in its results.

* The late King Albert of Saxony, then Crown Prince.

There is no longer the same independent spirit that formerly ruled at Headquarters.

January 5.

When I woke up this morning it all looked as foggy as ever, but it soon cleared up and the sun broke out.

At 8.15 the first gun was fired, but the fire which succeeded was not very powerful, as many batteries were unable to open for want of a target in view.

From outside several very satisfactory telegrams came to hand.

On the 2nd Strubberg with his brigade beat back the enemy at Peronne and took 250 prisoners. Von Goeben has done much the same. He has beaten back two French Army Corps, and is now in pursuit.

On the left bank of the Seine General von Bentheim has moved forwards from Rouen and encountered the enemy in great force. He beat him and captured three standards and several prisoners.

Prince Frederick Charles is advancing towards the west. At one o'clock I drove with the Crown Prince to the Villa Stern, whither the King also came; owing to the mist, however, we could hardly see anything of the bombardment, and so returned home at four o'clock. It was a beautiful drive, but extremely cold, -12° Réaumur.

Many, who had formed an exaggerated conception of the effects of a bombardment, have been very much undeceived to-day.

The great distance, and the unfavourable wind, light though it was, together with the thick atmosphere, prevented the thunder of the guns being so

imposing as they had expected. Moreover, the mist prevented several batteries from opening fire at all, and as the enemy did not reply as much as was hoped, the general effect was disappointing, and people were not so very much impressed.

Prince Hohenlohe mentioned at the King's dinner-table that at Fort Issy eleven guns had been silenced. That is very likely only a gentle illusion, as they probably only withdrew their guns. Four officers and eleven men in the batteries were wounded. The enemy must therefore have shot pretty cleverly.

This morning early a small sortie of infantry took place opposite Clamart ; as soon, however, as the cannonade began they retreated in wild disorder.

In Paris all seems quiet, though we have several indications that it is not so.

It is still frightfully cold, though the wind is in the south.

This evening, after dinner, I had a coughing fit for about an hour ; I must have got a chill from the windows in Villa Stern.

January 6.

To-day was a very beautiful day, and, as far as can be expected with this wind, a clear one. The wind has gone to the north-west, and it is almost thawing.

The bombardment was continued merrily, but it soon became apparent that the forts that were supposed to have been silenced yesterday were not by any means so. They fired away lustily, making pauses at times.

There has been no report delivered as yet (6 p.m.) of

any appreciable result beyond an increase of fire against us from the enceinte and from pieces of the heaviest calibres. I am not at all surprised, and quite anticipated it, for in a bombardment it takes weeks to accomplish anything.

I shall not be astonished if we have from 300 to 400 guns against us in action. It will only confirm my opinion, for which I have fought so long, that it would have been better to confine our attention to starving them out, and to employ our heavy guns to strengthen our defensive positions, and so prevent the French pushing forward their defences further from the city.

I heard from several officers, who were spectators, that some shells fell into the city, and some thought that the quarter by Val de Grace was in flames.

What will Count Bismarck say when his three shells, upon which he has placed so much reliance, have no further effect?

If he wants to scare the Parisians, he will have to let fall at least 3,000.

The losses to-day do not appear to be great.

I was unable to accompany the Prince to the copper-cap factory to watch the bombardment, as I was afraid of catching a fresh cold. I went, however, for a quiet hour's walk in the sunshine, as far as the basin. In my room I have always a tendency to headache.

January 7.

To-day it was, unfortunately, very foggy, and we could not carry out as much firing as we had expected. It is beginning to thaw rapidly.

Our head-spy has confirmed the impressions we received here regarding the enemy's movements. It was his intention to move with Chanzy's army to the relief of Paris, and to send Bourbaki's army (with the exception of 20,000 men), which will then consist of two Army Corps, eastwards to invade South Germany. The almost impassable condition of the Vosges at this time of year has changed his plans, and now Bourbaki is to move directly upon Paris.

To anticipate them all, Prince Frederick Charles, leaving one division in Orleans, has marched towards Vendôme, and yesterday succeeded, after hard fighting, in capturing a position of the enemy's about four miles west of Vendôme. We expect that he will complete the enemy's overthrow to-day and to-morrow.

In Paris they are pressing for a grand general sortie, which this time is to be directed against St. Germain and Versailles.

I cannot think it likely to succeed, as they will find it very hard to cross the Seine, which is not frozen over. He will then have to advance between St. Denis and Mont Valerien, and his forces will be divided, and his operations much circumscribed, by the river.

The spy maintains that this is his intention.

To-morrow I shall send two battalions of the Landwehr Division of the Guards from St. Cyr to St. Germain, and bring in here two others from the Fifth Cavalry Division.

It cannot be denied that we are somewhat weakly guarded against a large sortie, as we have likewise to cover the batteries. I rely, however, upon the indif-

ferent *élan* of the famished Parisian Gardes-mobiles, and so have little dread of a sortie.

This abominable bombardment has landed us in a nice hole, and will do us no good whatever.

The King is now very anxious, especially with regard to the situation in the west and south.

I am unable to share his apprehensions, as it appears to me that General von Moltke has taken steps to meet the foe in good time, by sending the Second Army Corps to Montargis and Auxerre. We may possibly lose one insignificant battle, but, with our splendid troops, this cannot have a great influence upon the main issue.

The Crown Prince, thank God! is not at all anxious, and looks to the future hopefully and courageously.

The exertions that the French are making to raise new armies out of the soil are really wonderful, and Dictator Gambetta's efforts deserve the highest recognition.

Only three weeks ago the greatest depression was apparent over the whole of France. Now, in this short time, the wildest enthusiasm reigns, and a universal faith in final victory.

The reaction will be correspondingly great as soon as these newly formed armies are beaten in battle. Then starving Paris must capitulate.

I shudder for the poor people, for if the Parisians hold out until complete exhaustion, sickness is sure to break out amongst them, and claim victims in thousands.

Their infatuation is such, however, that they will not have it otherwise.

To-day was so damp that I did not dare go out, but employed my time indoors in sorting my papers and putting everything in order.

Yesterday evening the enemy did us the honour of engaging our advanced posts with infantry and artillery fire in the neighbourhood of Chatou; and, although they made no impression, they showed that in this quarter they have become more lively.

January 8.

The weather was tolerably clear to-day, though a little snow fell at times, and we were able to carry on practice well.

No appreciable result has, however, been recorded, though I am continually receiving reports that this or that fort has been reduced to silence.

The very useful telegraph-line that we laid from Villacoublay, the Headquarters of the General of the day, to every battery or every group of batteries, is exceedingly annoying to me, for every trivial circumstance of whatever insignificance is reported to me.

From outside we get the news that Prince Frederick Charles has gone forward from Blois and Vendôme; the Grand-Duke of Mecklenburg has made an advance as far as Nogent-le-Retrou, during which the 94th Regiment stormed the village of La Fourche and captured three guns. Up to date, therefore, everything is going well for us, and Chanzy is in retreat.

Where is Bourbaki? I cannot believe that he has gone eastwards, for it would be, in my opinion, a great fault on the part of the French if they manœuvre on such eccentric lines. Perhaps he has gone by Tours

to join Chanzly. If that is so, Prince Frederick Charles will be in a tight place.

This afternoon I went for a walk with Herkt, through terrible mud, to the park of the Château.

I have no wish to look on at the bombardment. It does not meet my approval on principle, and at the same time I cannot alter matters.

At mid-day Moltke and the heads of the Siege Committee were here, and informed me that this night twelve cannon were told off to fire into Paris.

To me this is a terrible thought, especially as I consider it will be a useless proceeding.

To-morrow evening we go forwards to Le Val and a part of Bas Meudon, and instal ourselves with two batteries against Notre Dame de Clamart.

From that, however, our art ceases to be of avail: we cannot go further, as we do not wish to encamp, and so we come to a standstill, as I feared.

In order to make this as little perceptible as possible, and still be doing something, St. Denis will next be bombarded, and then Mont Valerien.

I should like to see this last fort bombarded, even though we may be able to destroy nothing therein but the buildings.

During all this time the Parisians are getting hungry and more hungry, and will do so until we starve them out.

January 9.

This morning it was fairly clear, but gradually the fog came up, so that the bombardment could only partly continue. I believe now that it has come to a stop.

During the night we dropped some hundreds of shells into the city, but up till now I have not heard with what result. Complaints are already to be heard, and will increase as time goes on.

No further news from Prince Frederick Charles, but there is some movement southwards near Gien. Can it be that Bourbaki is really going from thence to Montargis, or perhaps Orleans ?

The Hessian Division is posted there, but from other sources I hear that Bourbaki has gone eastwards, and is advancing from Dijon towards Nancy.

That would indeed be the most foolish thing that he could do.

From Belfort comes the news of a fortunate stroke, by which we have captured seventeen officers and from 200 to 300 men.

Faidherbe in the north seems no longer to be advancing, but to be retiring, most likely to await further reinforcements.

I found the Crown Prince to-day in a very depressed state of mind ; he spoke of peace at any price, and a return of the conquered districts Lorraine and Alsatia.

Who can have influenced him to contemplate such a pusillanimous policy, I wonder ?

Possibly it may be letters from home.

Just now, when the war is recommencing and taking a more lively and animated phase, to suddenly throw up the sponge would be very weak-minded.

What is going to happen if the fortune of war changes against us for a time ? a contingency which is most unlikely, I acknowledge.

It will at least be a test of our manliness. The last reservist must be called up to combat France and Revolution at the same time. An ignominious peace and Revolution in Germany are pretty closely allied.

Absolute and final victory in France is the only means of consolidating a great and powerful German Empire.

Early in the day a young and beautiful lady was here—Madame Cordier, the sister of the brave General Galliffet—whose love-affairs have doubtless prompted her to try and get into Paris.

She drove from Tours in a well-equipped carriage, in complete *insouciance* of the many shells flying over her head.

The King, she states, told her that he could not give her leave, and that I am the only person who can. I shall ask him to-day, and if he allows it I shall permit her to follow the dictates of her heart, even to running the gauntlet of the shell-fire, into Paris. At the same time, I am not very sure that she may not be a spy or a bearer of despatches. I dearly love courage, and am always delighted when a person strives to accomplish what is considered by others an impossibility.

I dined with the King to-day, and he gave me the necessary permission to allow Madame Cordier free passage. She will be very happy.

Have just heard from Stiehle at St. Calais that Chanzy is retreating before him, and so there will be no fight.

He has picked up from 700 to 800 prisoners. The beggars grow out of the earth like mushrooms!

It is very unpleasant for us that the enemy has not been beaten ; anyhow, he will not come near us now for some weeks.

January 10.

It was to-day very misty ; snow fell at times, so that not much firing could take place.

The works in the batteries near Clamart were disturbed in the night by a small sortie, which was pushed home right into the batteries. It was, however, repulsed by the guards of the trenches. A Bavarian officer received four bayonet wounds.

This evening some new batteries are going to be built.

In Paris itself several quarters are on fire.

The outside news is very favourable. The field is again clear.

Werder has beaten Bourbaki's forces—the Eighteenth and Twentieth Corps d'Armée—near Villersexel, south of Vesoul, and captured two Staff officers, fourteen officers, and about 500 men.

Prince Frederick Charles and the Grand-Duke are at the gates of Le Mans, after a series of small fights, and are to enter the town to-day. Now we have got more elbow-room round Paris !

According to reports, a committee composed partly of civilians, partly of military men, has been elected to assist Trochu. Extreme measures may now be expected—say either a general sortie or negotiations for peace.

The situation is becoming more interesting, and we shall, at least, not die of ennui.

In the afternoon I took a walk with Bronsart. He told me many new and interesting facts regarding the situation.

A thaw seems to be setting in.

We have had a great house search for weapons, etc., in St. Germain, but nothing of importance has been found—a few old sporting guns, letters, and satchels, nothing more.

When I returned from my walk, I found the party from Coblenz with the aeronaut of the Marne. The latter has been sent here, as he has information of an important nature to impart. He would not give up his secret to me in private, but desired to tell it to the King or the Crown Prince in my presence.

He stated that he had information of the most important nature to divulge, by means of which the war might be ended in the easiest manner.

I hope it is no hoax, and I shall ask the Crown Prince to-morrow to give him a hearing.

After dinner Generals Manteuffel and Sperling came to see us; it was a very great pleasure to see them again. The former takes over the command of the Southern Army, and starts to-morrow on his mission to overthrow Bourbaki.

Sperling goes to the north as Chief of the Staff to Von Goeben, to hold Faidherbe in check.

January 11.

The aeronaut was brought to me this morning, in order to be allowed to divulge his secret to the Crown Prince. The elephant, however, as is so oft the case, gave birth to a mouse.

His communication was to the following effect :

The war is a misfortune for both nations, especially for the French. From a feeling of patriotism he desired to bring it to an end. This *he* could do if we allowed him to slip into Paris. In the city there is not a single aeronaut left. They would at once make use of him ; in a day or two he would make an ascent, carrying most important despatches : these he could drop in any prearranged spot for our use. He also offered to bring us authentic information about the supplies, etc.

When the Crown Prince saw that he had a traitor and a spy before him, he turned his back on him and stalked out of the room. He has an instinctive hatred of such persons, but forgets that a General is bound to make what use he can of them, else he has not a chance.

I shall ask Count Bismarck whether he would like to use the aeronaut.

As a reward, all the man asked was to be allowed to come to Berlin after the war, and, assisted by subsidies, to carry on his experiments in aeronavigation.

In the forenoon a terrific fire was opened, but with no more important results than the destruction of the barracks in Fort Issy by fire. There was also a considerable fire in Paris, which I was able to watch from Observatory No. O at Bellevue. I drove there with the Crown Prince.

It is now the seventh day of bombardment ; nothing substantial attained, and about 150 dead and wounded artillerymen on our side.

I wonder if eventually they will see the folly of

this game of long bowls. I think they will, but will not confess it, and try to justify themselves.

In the evening the General Staff was here at dinner; there was, of course, very little said about the bombardment.

January 12.

To-day it was frightfully cold (-10° R.), but not very clear, as at times the fog came up. The bombardment, though fiercer than the previous day and more audible here, was nothing extraordinary. The French answer lustily from the enceinte and from Point du Jour, especially in the direction of St. Cloud.

There will be a great awakening soon, as no evidence of any really demoralizing effect on the Parisians is forthcoming; on the contrary, a Parisian newspaper gives expression to the feeling that the people, driven to extremities by the bombardment, will hold out to the bitter end. That will perhaps keep our gallant bombardiers quiet.

January 13.

Yesterday evening I took some rhubarb, and have been so upset all to-day with diarrhœa that I have been unable to leave my room, and have passed a most uncomfortable day.

In the morning arrived the news that Oetinger* had had all his cash stolen in Wiesbaden—some 200 thalers.

January 14.

Though I slept fairly, I felt myself so unwell this morning that I have had to keep to my room. I did

* The Field-Marshal's son-in-law.

not lose much by it, for outside the thermometer registers between 7° and 8° of cold.

This morning we received the joyful news of Prince Frederick Charles's great victory at Le Mans, and his pursuit of the enemy to Alençon and Laval.

Bourbaki will very likely have his fight with Werder near Belfort, and then it is to be hoped that the war will be finally decided. The Parisians, however, to judge from their newspapers, are not at all inclined to give in just yet.

Last night sorties took place on every front of the fortress, only to be driven back again, however.

Yesterday I allowed the aeronaut to go into Paris. I dare say we shall never hear of him again.

January 15.

To-day is already the eleventh day of bombardment, which hitherto has been almost ineffective.

To-day has been very cold (-10° R.), but the country from my window looked beautiful beyond description.

I am feeling a little better, but must keep my room. From Prince Frederick Charles the news that the enemy is in the wildest flight. It is to be hoped that he will be pressed so hard in pursuit that he will be unable to make a stand. Pursuit is, however, very difficult over frozen roads, especially for the cavalry.

From Trochu in Paris a letter came to Moltke, asserting, in unbecoming terms, that we are making their hospitals targets for our guns. Moltke replied to him to-day in courteous language, and in the German tongue.

Nothing of importance to mention. The many tiresome telegrams from the various batteries are very confusing, and make me quite irritable.

January 16.

This morning I am nearly well, and was quite set again on my feet by the arrival of a messenger from the King at ten o'clock, bringing the news of a brilliant victory, won by Werder over Bourbaki, after a nine hours' battle. The real significance of this success is at once apparent, but it will be more thoroughly recognised later.

I can see in it the beginning of the end. If Bourbaki renews his attack to-day, it will only be to give Manteuffel time to take him in rear.

I can see clearly that Bourbaki's army will be annihilated ; whatever is left of it will be thrown over the Swiss frontier, unless it takes flight in the direction of Nancy, when it will be nicely caught on the flank.

There will then remain only General Faidherbe's army in the north ; this must be at once attacked and smashed.

There is every prospect of this coming about shortly, as General von Goeben is concentrating, and, moreover, the Grand-Duke of Mecklenburg has now received the order to proceed with the Thirteenth Army Corps, from Alençon—where he must have arrived to-day—to Rouen.

When Faidherbe is crushed the French will have no other army outside Paris, and it will be months before they will be able to organize another. In this

time Paris must fall, unless the bombardment has instilled in the Parisians a devilish resentment which will lead them to resist till death.

It looks as though in Paris a catastrophe were about to happen to the present rulers there. According to the Parisian newspapers, red-hot speeches are being made in the working men's clubs of the Belleville quarter, and they are calling for a Commune—*i.e.*, a Reign of Terror.

Jules Favre asked yesterday for a passport to London to attend the Conference. At the same time he expressed a desire that his personal following—wife, children, etc.—should be allowed to accompany him. This, of course, cannot be granted.

When the rats leave the ship things look bad. I fancy we are on the eve of the great event—capitulation. What will happen then?

I fancy that the turn of events will be very much as follows—a natural course, as it seems to me.

With the fall of Paris, the Republic, which has shown itself to be incompetent, will also fall. There is no one there with whom we can treat, and there is no likelihood of our being able to find anyone there, for, naturally, party spirit has taken the place of all thought of their country's defence.

Why, then, should we not turn to the only person who has a shadow of right to treat, namely, Louis Napoleon?

Will he conclude peace with us on our terms, and is he in a position to give us guarantees for the payment of the costs of the war? If so, why should we not accept them?

He may be prepared to do so. He has the greater number of the captured Generals on his side as well as the men, who will be very glad to get out of their imprisonment, and take the oath of allegiance to him.

How far we shall be able to help him in this matter, I cannot well tell, but it can be done if only we desire to do it.

We have thus a way of putting an end—and a very brilliant end—to the war.

We shall obtain the much-desired peace, and France will have been considerably weakened—one may say crippled—for a long time. We shall then have shown to the world, and especially to our own democratical countrymen, that armies of raw levies, drawn from the masses, are of no avail against well-organized troops, and, above all things, we shall have dethroned the Republic, which was evidently building up in our country dangerous hopes, and would never have allowed us to live in peace.

In the doctrines of liberalism and democracy as current in Germany we have more to fear from Republicanism than France. With the Republic still in existence, everything with us would go by the board, as with us every man follows his own train of thought; and it is quite likely that our Government would, under France's poisonous influence, be gradually transformed into a Republic, whereas France will certainly eventually revert to Imperialism. In that contingency we should be the weaker.

January 17.

A complete thaw ; the mud is frightful. During this south wind we hear no sound of bombardment, and everything has a look of peace. Work continues as in a treadmill.

From outside the good news that Werder yesterday beat back an assault from Bourbaki, and is to-day advancing to the attack himself. It may now come to pass, as I think it will, that now Bourbaki has been held fast Manteuffel will have the time given to him to take him in the rear. He must be at Gray to-day, which is only three days' march distant from the operations.

Bourbaki will then have to cross the Swiss frontier, which I think will be the best thing he can do ; or he will have to retire northwards, and then he will be neatly taken.

Chanzy is being still pursued. General Schmidt has taken 2,000 more prisoners. Faidherbe is, however, beginning to move forwards. He ought already to be at St. Quentin. As I feared, this has made both the King and the Crown Prince anxious, though there is not the least ground for fear.

From Paris we are again hearing continually of an intended sortie *en masse*. To-day a number of guns have been brought from Aubervilliers to St. Ouen, near St. Denis, which looks as though we may expect the sortie to take place in the region of St. Germain.

In Paris things must be lively.

Madame Cordier wished to come out to-day, but was not permitted. Her sister has written to her that she ought not to risk her life in such dangers.

Good news from George ; also cheerful letters from Düsseldorf, Horst, and Wiesbaden. In the afternoon I went for a walk with Herkt in the town.

To-morrow is the day of the coronation of the Emperor.

We hear very little about bombardment now ; it has sunk quite into the second line of things interesting, and in time will die a natural death.

Among other visitors to-day Count Löe-Wissen was with me.

In the evening Minister von Schleinitz was received by the Crown Prince, and I had a very pleasant half-hour's conversation with him.

It appears that the King can hardly bring himself to contemplate being proclaimed Emperor to-morrow. The parting with the crown left him by his father is no doubt difficult as a matter of sentiment, and I can quite understand his feelings and sympathize with them. The young Crown Prince naturally has no such sentiment to combat ; he is losing nothing, only winning a—well, perhaps a crown of thorns !

January 18.

To-day has been a historical day. One hundred and seventy years ago the Elector of Brandenburg adopted the title of King ; to-day our King adopted that of Emperor.

The whole of the officers here, as well as representatives from the troops operating outside, with the colours of their regiments, were collected in the Salle des Glaces in the Palace of Versailles. A service was held, and then, after the King had spoken a few

words, a Proclamation was read by the Chancellor Bismarck, declaring that the King adopted the title of German Emperor. It was most solemn, but to me saddening to think that the old kingship was dead. It cannot, however, be helped ; it is a historical necessity.

At five o'clock there was a big dinner at the King's table, and in the evening a reunion of all the Princes here at a smoking-party at the Crown Prince's.

I had some very interesting conversations with General Fabrice, the Governor-General, and the Crown Prince of Saxony. I also had a talk with Prince Hohenlohe, who now clearly sees that from a military point of view the bombardment has been valueless, and that it can only be of use politically.

Very good news from outside. Werder has beaten Bourbaki back for the third time ; the latter is now in full retreat, and it is to be hoped that he will fall into Manteuffel's clutches. I am most curious to know how Manteuffel will manœuvre.

Faidherbe is advancing ; Goeben will engage him to-morrow.

Scheffler's brigade of the Fourth Army Corps, in which Fritz is now, has been sent to Goeben to-day.

The weather is warm, but very wet.

A decisive result is fast approaching. No news from Paris.

January 19.

Early this morning, soon after nine o'clock, an advance of the enemy in strong columns was reported from Mont Valerien in this direction. At least every

five minutes telegrams came in. I did not take long to make up my mind, but immediately ordered the Landwehr Brigade of Guards from Saintry and a Bavarian brigade from Bièvres to come here. The attack appeared at one time to be directed against the Ninth Division at Montretout, at another against the Tenth at Malmaison.

Immediately after breakfast, as soon as the necessary dispositions had been completed, I drove with the Crown Prince to Marly ; but on the way we were met by Major Dresow, with a report that the fighting there was all over. We turned then sharply to our right, and drove through Fausses-Reposes to the Hospice of Vaucresson, where a battery was in position firing at the heights of La Bergerie. A fairly lively infantry fight was going on, but this appeared to be gradually dying out.

At 3.30, however, things became livelier, and we speedily learnt from General von Sandrart, who was in command there, that the redoubt of Montretout had been taken by the enemy at two o'clock. An attempt to retake it had been made by General Bothmer, but had failed, and very soon the enemy brought a battery up to Montretout and fired away at us merrily.

The shells flew over our heads or fell to our right in the neighbouring valley. There was only one gunner wounded, struck by a chassepot-bullet at a range of 700 yards. The snow and mist, though not of much account, kept coming into our faces. We directed the Landwehr Brigade of the Guards to take post as a reserve at Fausses-Reposes, as the situation

there appeared somewhat insecure. As soon as darkness commenced we took our seats in the carriage and were driven home, arriving here at 6 p.m.

According to statements of prisoners, the enemy had made a very strong sortie, with eighty battalions, and appeared to be going to repeat it several days in succession ; the troops for the purpose were bivouacked at the foot of Mont Valerien. He brought out a number of guns and mitrailleuses.

The Crown Prince was very gay and cheerful, and paid no attention to the shell-fire, which was not inconsiderable. The Montretout Redoubt, which was held by us with a non-commissioned officer's party only, and could not have been defended, has remained in the hands of the enemy. It will be retaken to-morrow morning at break of day, as the enemy cannot possibly retain it ; it must, so to speak, remain neutral ground.

Our losses, which were certainly not serious, are not yet known.

The Guard-Landwehr and Bavarian Brigades remain in Versailles as a reserve in case of necessity.

January 20.

The fight yesterday was of a much more serious character than I had imagined, for the earth is covered with dead and wounded, and we lost more than 500 men.

In the night the Fifth Army Corps recaptured the heights of La Bergerie and the Montretout Redoubt with loud hurrahs, and this afternoon they retook the

last houses in St. Cloud, where some eighteen officers and 330 men were taken prisoners.

The captured officers said almost universally that they had no hope of victory ; they fought partly for honour, and partly because they were hounded on by the Parisians. The fortress would not, however, capitulate yet, but would hold out as long as they had bread ; that is probably some weeks yet.

In the afternoon there came under a flag of truce a parlementaire, Comte de Hérisson, Trochu's Adjutant, to beg for an armistice of forty-eight hours' duration. We were not able to grant it, except on the front St. Cloud - Malmaison - Carrières, where it has been allowed until five o'clock p.m. to bury the dead and carry off the wounded.

The losses of the French must have been very severe. Our batteries are continuing to fire lustily.

In the afternoon we had heavy rain. This forenoon the mist was very thick, so that our batteries had to cease firing. It soon became evident that the enemy was retiring, and had no further mind for a fight.

A slight unpleasantry occurred to me to-day. The Crown Prince was very annoyed at my intention of granting a cessation of hostilities along the front of the Fifth Army Corps—a step which I had referred to Moltke for consideration. By good luck I had sent Major von Hahnke to the Crown Prince to communicate my request. The latter was with the King and Prince Charles at dinner. He did not give his consent, but hesitated until he had conferred with Bismarck, and so it came to pass that no official cessation of hostilities was granted, only by mutual consent,

as it were, the dead were buried without disturbance.

The Crown Prince's displeasure I cannot account for (he did not make it apparent to me personally), but I assume that he cannot bear my arranging anything on my own responsibility.

The whole forenoon there was thick fog, and so no firing. Towards mid-day it cleared up, and a lively cannonade recommenced.

To-day is the seventeenth day, and still no results. The 'Incendiarists' do not talk about it with gusto any longer, while I am more than pleased. The French cannot now say that we never dared to fire upon their world-renowned city. By bombardment, however, it will never be forced to capitulate.

All going well outside. Goeben has pursued Faidherbe, and has already made 9,000 prisoners.

The Guard-Landwehr and the Bavarian Brigades have been sent back to their original cantonments.

I received several long letters from my wife, to my very great joy.

In the afternoon I took a walk with Herkt in the town, which always does me good. I can always unbosom myself in his hearing, without any fear of the good, honourable fellow misunderstanding me.

January 22.

I do not know how it is, but since yesterday I have felt very sore and unusually bad-tempered. I am possessed by a feeling that everybody is hostile and unjust towards me, and yet I have done nothing to anyone. I am, I know, very intolerant and curt.

Perhaps it is an inward result of this senseless and purposeless bombardment, which is costing us so many lives. Up to now among the siege artillery alone there are fifteen officers and 250 men killed and wounded, and the infantry lose at least three times as many men as in their former positions. And all this to no purpose, since it would be equally easy for us to limit ourselves to the starvation method.

My position here is beginning to be very trying. According to the orders issued, the Third Army has the operations of the siege confided to it to direct; therefore it has all the work and all the responsibility. No one, however, takes the actual lead more than Prince Hohenlohe, the artillerist, who is daily with the King, talks out everything with him, arranges everything according to his own liking, for he feels himself protected, and when anything goes wrong I have to bear the blame.

It is an endless screw which threatens to upset me, and takes all the joy out of my work.

People appear to think that it is a pleasure to me when the bombardment is of little effect, and that I have a feeling of innate justification, which I cannot conceal, because I have spoken with such decision against a bombardment which is not carried on in combination with a formal attack. In reality it has no such effect on me; it only troubles and annoys me to see such idiotic methods adopted, in which I am, unfortunately, bound to be one of the leading actors.

This evening came the news that the iron railway-bridge at Toul has been blown up by Franc-tireurs, and thereby almost our last connection with the

Fatherland destroyed. What will be done about the transport of ammunition now?

Fortunately, the railway line through Mézières is completed, and it is to be hoped that more energy will now be shown in blowing up the French fortresses. We are always too mild in our treatment of this people.

This afternoon I rode with Albrecht to the Observatory No. O, whence we looked on at the bombardment for an hour or so.

It was clear and bright at times, and the enemy was firing merrily from the enceinte, and from several of the single batteries.

Prince Hohenlohe, who was there, declared that Fort Issy was silenced completely; however, as we were leaving the observatory, suddenly half a dozen shots came flying out of that fort!

January 23.

This feeling of depression will not leave me; it is very likely physical or due to overstrung nerves, which is not to be wondered at.

From the returns rendered to-day, before the bombardment commenced we lost about six infantry soldiers daily: now the daily total is fifteen; add to this an average of twenty-five gunners, and we have forty men daily *hors de combat*. In addition we have had sixteen artillery officers killed or wounded in the past nineteen days.

The enemy is continually bringing more guns to bear, and soon we may expect heavier losses, as the men will be getting sick from the strain of active service.

This afternoon I received instructions from Count Bismarck to admit into our lines Jules Favre, who was expected under a flag of truce, as he desired an interview with Count Bismarck.

I expect that this interview is apropos of the Conference in London, though doubtless the question of peace will also be touched upon. God grant that an end will soon be put to this affair !

In the afternoon I went into the town and had my hair cut ; this will, I hope, make me feel lighter and more cheerful.

I am sorry to say that an expense-magazine in Battery No. 21 blew up this morning, wounding with a piece of shell a Captain of artillery. Many men were likewise injured.

January 24.

To-day I feel considerably better, but that I am any more cheerful in spirit I cannot say.

The superheated advocates of bombardment now see that I was right when I declaimed against it as an error from a military point of view ; they look at me in the light of a standing reproof, although I hardly ever speak a word ; I only smile.

It is not, however, an unusual thing to find in the world that those who have tendered sound and wholesome advice, which has not been followed, are hated and loathed, because they stand as a reproach to the people. I do not mean to include the King ; he appreciates and values an outspoken opinion, and loves straightforward behaviour.

Jules Favre has gone back to Paris this after-

noon; what he wanted and what he got, I know not.

Our batteries were firing very heavily this evening. During the day there was a heavy fog, so that in the batteries men could hardly see 10 yards in front of them.

In the afternoon I went for a walk with Herkt to the basin.

January 25.

During the night it has frozen, I am glad to say, as the roads had become almost impassable, and the supply of ammunition had almost come to a standstill. We must get on with the improvements to the roadways as much as possible, though this will increase labour tremendously.

Yesterday another shell fell into the casemated room in the Clamart Battery, whilst the officers were sitting there. Nobody was damaged, however.

To-day the Crown Prince presented to the King a return of the killed and wounded for the last fourteen days. This will, of course, be looked upon as a demonstration on my part to justify myself, and I shall come into their black books more than ever.

In the afternoon I sent a communication to the Government in Paris on the subject of an exchange of prisoners.

Jules Favre is coming here this afternoon, and it is greatly to be hoped that this interview will lead to the desired end.

In Paris yesterday there was a riot, but it was

speedily subdued by Vinoy, who fired volleys upon the mob.

It appears that an armistice is to be arranged upon a pretext of peace negotiations. It always seems to me objectionable that we should mix ourselves up too much with this Republic. I would much rather have peace concluded with Napoleon, even though it might be necessary for us to carry on the war a little longer. A few weeks more or less would not be grudged, provided that a permanent peace were thereby established.

The country people and the army are all for Napoleon, let the clamourers say what they will.

In the afternoon I took a walk in the park, and on my return through the town Kameke accompanied me. He will be very glad when this affair is ended. He spoke of a regular attack to be opened on St. Denis as the next siege operation. This will not by any means lead to a conclusive result, even though St. Denis be captured; but it fills in the time, and diverts the criticism which the check on our operations on Paris is sure to produce.

The War Minister has shown some signs of life; he must have now recovered. He has published a fulminating memorandum, giving Hohenlohe instructions to keep such control over Colonel von Bronikowski that no blocks shall occur in the transport service. He overlooks the fact, however, that Colonel von Bronikowski is not under the command of Prince Hohenlohe, but belongs to the Third Army!

January 26.

This evening Jules Favre returned to Paris with the intention of coming back here to-morrow morning in company with several other gentlemen. We shall then, doubtless, arrive at some conclusion regarding capitulation.

We have received orders not to fire from our batteries unless we are attacked.

To me this was a bitter day, for I have just received the news of the death of little Hans.* Poor Agnes will be deeply grieved. I could almost believe now in presentiments, for last Saturday and Sunday I was so depressed and unhappy without knowing why. It might have been telepathy.

The prospects of peace are by no means cheerful, and I feel quite stunned.

This evening (ten o'clock) a great deal of firing took place, which greatly vexed me.

The depredations of the Franc-tireurs are assuming formidable dimensions.

To-morrow we shall have to send a brigade of the Sixth Corps to Montargis and neighbourhood, and very likely a couple of companies to Limours, where our provision columns have been regularly attacked and plundered. Unless every one of these robbers is shot when he is caught, this trouble may swell to a great magnitude.

A hard frost again; the roads are more passable.

In the afternoon I took a walk, alone, to Caville, on the railway-line.

* Grandson.

January 27.

To-day there is no more firing—a great change after yesterday evening's severe cannonade.

Jules Favre has come in to-day with several persons, including a General (Beaufort).

The officer at the examining post, Lieutenant von Uslar, told me that the latter got drunk at Repli, where they had breakfast, and could hardly be induced to leave the place. He said he preferred to stay with '*camarades*'! It must have been an impressive spectacle (?).

It is no longer a matter of speculation that the capitulation is almost settled upon. We hear very little about it, however. It must be a difficult job for Moltke and Bismarck, and I am very pleased at having nothing to do with it.

From Manteuffel the news comes that Bourbaki has been completely surrounded at Besançon, near the Swiss frontier. Manteuffel's troops are, however, so separated that he cannot prevent Bourbaki breaking through at any point if he attempts to do so in force. Manteuffel's manœuvres do not appeal to me; but I do not know the country, and so cannot express any opinion that is of value. Doubtless there are many defiles which Manteuffel sees his way to defending easily.

The King dined here to-day with a number of Princes. Moltke was also here, and I conclude, from what he says, that there are many difficulties in the way of a capitulation.

The powers that be in Paris cannot carry out what they would now like to promise: they are afraid of

the mob, and even consider it possible that a revolution may break out to-morrow, and that the people may throw themselves *en masse* against us.

I cannot think it possible, but if it did happen there would be frightful carnage. We have had to call for special attention on the part of the outposts.

Jules Favre, etc., have returned to Paris, and are coming here again to-morrow.

Two companies of the Guard-Landwehr are to proceed to-morrow to Limours, Rambouillet, etc., with some cavalry, to tackle the robbers.

January 28.

Jules Favre and his company came again this morning, and returned in the evening. Whether anything was concluded I know not. A general quiet was observable, and in many places the French soldiers tried to fraternize with ours. It has frozen again, and the ground is as hard as a bone.

In the afternoon I drove with Hahnke and Gottberg to Sèvres, whence we visited Battery No. 1 and the ruins of St. Cloud—both a terrible sight, and pictures of desolation.

January 29.

Yesterday evening at nine o'clock Major von Hahnke was sent for to the quarters of the General Staff to receive verbal instructions, and, after I had waited in vain for his return, I turned into bed and tried to get to sleep. At 11.30 p.m. he appeared with the terms of the Armistice Convention, and the corresponding orders, according to which we are this

morning, at ten o'clock, to occupy the forts round Paris.

This was joyful news ! We had to get to work, however, seriously to draft orders and send out instructions.

I summoned all the officers of the General Staff and the Commanders of the Fifth and Eleventh Corps, and then roused the Crown Prince, who came into my room and talked the matter out.

I dictated orders and gave directions for the movement until half-past three in the morning, and then we all turned into bed dog-tired.

And so all was carried out to-day as arranged. The forts were occupied by us without our being disturbed in any way as soon as the French had quitted them.

They were all in excellent condition, and so well armed that they could have held out against us for months—another proof that hunger alone has caused the capitulation.

The terms of the Convention do not appear to give universal satisfaction, many being of opinion that the conquered have got off too easily.

I must say, however, that I am very well contented with the wise moderation that Bismarck and Moltke have shown. I suppose, however, that after the declaration of peace we shall either occupy the city or, at least, march through it. Our soldiers expect it as their reward. It is, doubtless, very advisable that we should not go in just yet among the starving inhabitants. These appear to be ready to fly at each other's throats ; at least, it looks very much as if the regulars and the National Guard would come to blows.

Jules Favre and his company were here to-day again.

Our greatest difficulty will be to prevent the inhabitants rushing out of the town. No one should be allowed out or in without a permit from the Military Governor, but how are we to hold back the throng ?

Hard frost again to-day.

In the afternoon I took my walk to the basin with Herkt, and at six o'clock Rieff and Schulz came to me to talk about the armament of the forts.

January 30.

Very hard frost still and cloudy. In the forenoon I had to see so many people that I became quite irritable, and was glad when I received a message from the Crown Prince to accompany him to Mont Valerien.

This formidable and splendidly situated fortress was the admiration of all, and it made us smile when we remembered that in the first few days after our arrival in Versailles General Hindersin had proposed to carry it by storm with 3,000 volunteers.

The filth in the barracks was dreadful, but our men had already done much to get rid of it.

The great gun 'Valerie,' which always pointed in the direction of Versailles, but never reached us, though it continually woke me up, was an object of great interest.

Our men of the 46th Regiment looked very fit and cheerful.

We drove home through Suresnes, and past the

charred remains of St. Cloud, still magnificent in its ruins.

In the evening Stosch, Hohenlohe, and Kameke came to dinner.

January 31.

To-day I had again a very hard forenoon, and was very glad to drive with the Prince to Forts Issy, Vanves, and Montrouge. It was very cold, but there was lovely sunshine. The winter seems to be unending.

It was terrible to see the number of palaces and houses destroyed in Bellevue, and above us on the Terrace the Château of Meudon, which was fired by a shell on the 27th, still burning.

The forts seem very much knocked about, especially in the interior, where many of the lofty barracks had been struck and burnt down. The effects of our shooting had been terrible, but though many in Vanves wanted to see a breach, I could not find one, for the escarp walls remained undamaged for at least 12 feet of their height, and could not have been stormed. The counterscarps were perfectly intact, as well as the guns in the flanking faces, protected as they were by traverses.

Storming would have been impossible, and if the French had only fought well we should have been sent away with broken heads.

I am convinced that these works, which really are in themselves complete fortresses, can only be taken after a formal siege, and for that service we had neither guns nor ammunition.

The King always recognised this, and therefore expressly forbade the forts to be assaulted.

As it was, we might have fired away for months, and probably should have been reduced to silence ourselves by the vastly preponderating weight of metal possessed by our enemy.

If we had wished to continue the bombardment, we should have had to do so without the necessary siege-guns, as those we have with us are for the greater part either damaged or entirely unserviceable.

What luck that starvation has done its work !—luck that we have not deserved.

Not only do the Parisian newspapers emphasize the fact that Paris has been reduced by starvation, but Jules Favre has expressly mentioned it, and has begged that we shall send 3,000,000 rations from our supplies into Paris, to stave off hunger if only for a single day, until provision can be made for further supply from outside.

The Kaiser has permitted it, but I trust that our people will not suffer; the greatest care will be necessary.

Every fort has from 80 to 100 pieces, a portion being of the heaviest calibres.

I was, unfortunately, suffering from a pain in the stomach, and was very glad to get home at 4.30, where I found a mass of work awaiting me.

From outside the happy news that the Fourteenth Division has had a successful fight against Bourbaki's army, and made 3,000 prisoners. The 15th Hussars captured six guns.

I hope that Reimar* and Cosel† are all right, but I am very anxious.

Our prisoners captured round Paris—956 men and two officers—have been to-day set at liberty.

February 1.

To-day the thaw has begun in earnest; in fact, at mid-day it was almost like spring. After I had worked hard all the morning I took a walk through the town.

I was unable to accompany the Crown Prince to Forts Bicêtre, Ivry, and Charenton, as I had been invited to dine with Prince Charles at five o'clock. This is the first time that I ever dined with him.

It was a splendid dinner, seasoned with some particularly happy news brought by Moltke, namely, that 80,000 men of Bourbaki's army had been pushed across the Swiss frontier; we can therefore count them all as prisoners.

In the evening we had a musical entertainment in our salon.

February 2.

In splendid spring weather, the air being quite clear, I drove to-day with the Crown Prince and a large retinue to the Hospice of Vaucresson.

Then we mounted our horses, and rode over the battlefield of the 19th of January, St. Cloud, Montretout, La Bergerie, Buzunsal, and Malmaison.

I could now see that we were justified in our

* Son-in-law.

† The Colonel of the 15th Hussars—Hanoverian.

destructiveness, and in the clearing of this very enclosed piece of country, called by us the 'Sandrart-schen Verschönerungsverein.'

From accounts received, the French lost on that day 4,000 men at Montretout alone. It was a severe battle, or, rather, a slaughter, by our well-posted artillery.

The destruction caused to the houses by fire is dreadful, and I have no wish ever to see this part again. What a terribly sad sight for the many owners returning to their homes !

February 3.

I had to-day a quantity of work to get through, and all consisting of the merest rubbish.

I notice now that the excitement is over that I am sick of the whole thing. The days are beginning to get too long, in spite of all the work.

To-day was warm, and I took a walk in the afternoon with Herkt to the basin.

In the evening we were only a few, but we enjoyed some music together.

February 4.

The days are getting more and more wearisome, and I am a victim of impatience. Work seems to me to come as the threshing of empty cornstalks, and gives me no further pleasure. I am always affected thus during armistices. Fourteen days from to-morrow it will, I trust, come to an end. At present contraventions of our agreement give us much trouble. Under every possible pretext people want to

come out of or go into Paris. More than 7,000 people passed the lines of demarcation to-day, and among them many officers who are fleeing from Paris, and appear to be going to join Chanzy.

All this must be stopped, or else we shall starve here ; all provisions have gone up to double the price, and from to-morrow we must exercise a supervision at the gates, so as not to let the whole of the people out.

To-day the weather was beautifully clear, and I drove with Gottberg to old General von Hartmann's in Chatenay. He celebrates to-day his seventy-sixth birthday. He is the oldest German General in the field. The Crown Prince sent him a wreath of laurels, which pleased him greatly.

In the afternoon I took a walk alone to the basin.

February 5.

To-day I had again a lot of unpleasant matters to adjust, and all the time telegrams and letters showered in upon me.

From General von Moltke arrived instructions for a renewal of the siege operations in the event of the armistice not leading to a peace.

We are to make a formal siege attack on the north front ; all the forts to be armed on the side of the main attack, and siege batteries to be built in and in the neighbourhood of Forts Valerien and Bicêtre.

In the evening, at six o'clock, Michaelis, Rieff, and Schulz came to me to talk it all out, and everything was arranged so that at least the command is properly organized.

It has struck me especially that it is here that everything has gone wrong, nobody knowing who was master and who was man.

We have got to transfer four more companies of Siege Train Engineers and eleven companies of Siege Train Artillery to the Army of the Meuse.

To-day the weather was warm and beautiful, and I took a walk with Gottberg through the town.

It is now beginning to be stormy—the first storm we have had this year.

February 6.

To-day my cup of unpleasantries has been full. Others might not think them so ; I have, however, become extremely sensitive, and cannot command my feelings.

The Kaiser, as I have been told, has, through the War Minister, expressed himself displeased at the way officers have left their posts to hold wine-parties in Versailles, and I am told to call attention to this in strong terms in daily orders.

I find it quite natural that officers who for the past seven months have suffered the hardships and undergone the privations of active service should relax a little now ; it is only human, and, moreover, it will do them good.

A haughtily worded communication came from Trochu, saying that three German horsemen had crossed the line of demarcation and had been arrested. They had been released, but he could not protect other cases in future. They should be punished.

Regarding the hundreds of French soldiers who are always trespassing on the neutral ground he has made no remark.

Further worries with transport of ammunition, with the appointment of special troops for the Governor-General, etc.

I was very much annoyed with the whole thing, and know that I was cross and bearish, for I feel that I have to combat this idiotic confusion that is reigning in the channels of command at Headquarters, and that I have nobody to stand up for me in the entourage of the King.

In the afternoon I rode with Viebahn to Meudon, to see the vast ruins and inspect the batteries there.

To-day the French have delivered up their first consignment of arms, in accordance with the Convention—eighty guns (16-pounders) in Ivry, and 5,600 rifles at Bicêtre.

This evening there was a great soirée at the Prince's, where we discussed some Bavarian beer that had been sent as a present.

February 7.

Again a lot of work to-day. A memorandum of General Moltke's hands over to Prince Hohenlohe still greater power, and threatens to throw everything into confusion.

I drove across to General von Moltke to express my views on the subject. He appeared to understand me, and promised to help me. We shall not, for all that, have a properly organized system at Headquarters.

To-morrow the Fifth Army Corps is to be removed

from the investment line, and mobilized to march in a few days, most likely to Orleans, as Chanzy has been reinforced, and now must have between 150,000 and 200,000 men.

Gambetta has laid down the reins of power. This note sounds a peaceful one.

Jules Favre has summoned the Generals—Chanzy among them—to Paris to consult.

In the afternoon I took my walk alone to the basin.

In the evening Prince Frederick Charles came here. He looked extremely well.

February 8.

To-day was a very quiet day, and I have been at last able to set my papers in order. There were only the orders for the march of the Fifth Corps to arrange. The corps marches in the direction of Orleans to Gien and Blois.

It seems to me only a movement of chess to check the French, who are collecting in great numbers round Chanzy, and to show them that we are in earnest if they do not give in.

Yesterday evening General Chanzy came here and was conducted into Paris.

It appears to me that the Government there is going to ask the Generals to give a promise not to continue the war, so that it may go before the House of Assembly on this platform.

The day after to-morrow the Fourth Army Corps arrives here to go to Chartres.

In the afternoon it began to rain heavily. I went, however, with Herkt for a walk.

At mid-day Count Bismarck was here, and appeared very cheerful. He seems to take great pleasure in the negotiations.

February 9.

To-day was issued a memorandum placing the disposal of the war booty in the hands of Prince Hohenlohe and Major Sallbach. This will again knock everything on the head, and so I sent Major Hahnke to the General Staff Headquarters to make representations on the subject.

Assent was given to my proposition, and now all that remains for me to do is to issue the necessary instructions, unless something else is decided at Headquarters before to-morrow morning.

It is almost inconceivable how little idea they have, at the executive office, of the enormous difficulties in the supply of horses and men such tasks as this imply. I should be very pleased if I could be quit of the whole thing, but as the Third Army has to supply the personnel for everything, the intervention of others would only increase difficulties, and my Army Corps would only be split up and disseminated entirely.

In the interests of my corps and its efficiency for fighting, I must keep the whole affair in my own hand.

Another endless screw!

As the weather was beautiful, I rode through Sèvres along the Seine to the bridge of Neuilly, to see the arrangements for the ingress and egress of townspeople. It was distressing to see how the starving

people jostled each other to get out, as though they had but one purpose in life, and that to bring in bread. The poor officers of the examining party had their hands full in keeping the mob back.

At dinner-time, among others, the banker Bleichröder was at table with us, and I had a very interesting conversation with him about the monetary condition of France.

The elections to the National Assembly yesterday portend a peaceful prospect, and the chances of a lasting peace are thereby increased, although it appears to be generally feared that the South, where the events of the war have not been thoroughly appreciated, will separate from the North, and will continue to fight.

Terrible weather. The Sixteenth Brigade of the Fourth Army Corps marched through, and Oetinger and Fritz came in here for lodgings.

Oetinger came to me and took his meals here, but I could not get hold of Fritz, as I did not know where his quarters were.

There is nothing new, and my work seems suddenly to be diminishing.

The decision between peace and war must soon come now.

The King is suffering from lumbago, and cannot go out.

February 11.

I am pleased that at last we have arranged for the removal of the guns and weapons that have been taken from the French, so that the service of transporting

them to the railway-station at Esbly can begin on the 14th.

There was a great deal to do in the matter, and to be thought over—the mending of the roads, the building of bridges, relays of horses of the Transport Corps, organization of the personnel, stabling, care of the horses, etc., and, in addition to this, more heavy siege guns and ammunition to be sent to the North front. It was absolutely necessary for me to take the whole thing in hand, otherwise there would have been too many cooks for the broth.

People will, I am sure, not be satisfied, and will think that it might all have been done quicker and more efficiently. That is always the case, for few men know the difficulties such an undertaking entails, where one thing is so dependent upon another.

The prospects of peace do not improve, for the elections in Paris have all been favourable to the Radicals, and the National Assembly in Bordeaux will not accept our conditions of peace, though there is nothing else for them to do unless they want to see their beautiful country entirely ruined.

We shall now have to continue the war, not against a real army, but against a deluded and obstinate, and at the same time defenceless, country, which will now be brought to ruin. We shall have to plunder and burn, and then demand more indemnity than we wish to do. But what else can we do? We cannot allow conditions to be dictated to us, and so conclude an undignified peace. It is really absurd that a whole country can be so unreasonable, out of pure vanity.

To-morrow the Assembly meets in Bordeaux, and it will be seen in a few days what is to be the issue.

Immediately after the armistice is over Paris will be occupied by us, and this ought to take the pride out of this absurdly vain people.

All the utterances of the people in Versailles and those who come out of Paris show them to be very depressed, but not entirely discouraged. We are acting a great deal too leniently towards the country, and we shall surely regret that we have not taken stronger measures with it. The French mistake our lenient treatment for weakness.

To-day was beautiful, and I walked for two hours with Herkt. Albrecht was attached to the 96th Regiment.

Fritz had got erysipelas in the face during the march. I hoped he would remain here to effect a cure. Poor young fellow! I hope he will not be seriously ill.

The people are streaming out of Paris, and are doing so under authority of passes granted by the French. We have to shut our eyes to it, as one cannot find fault with starving men.

February 12.

To-day a severe frost and very cold. At one o'clock we rode to meet the Twenty-second Division, which marched in here to-day. The men looked so well that one could not suppose that they had undergone the hardships they have during the past three months. The march-past before the Préfecture, in one of the windows of which stood the Emperor, who

is still sick, was not, certainly, like a march-past in peace time. The number of officers effective is terribly small; in fact, one company marched past under the command of the last-joined Lieutenant.

When I reached home I heard that Fritz had arrived, and was in his quarters. I went to him and found him in a small but good room, surrounded with all comforts. He has certainly got erysipelas, and complains of headache, but he does not appear to be very bad.

On reading the names of the deputies elected, one is prone to believe that the majority of the Assembly which meets to-day in Bordeaux is in favour of peace. I have my doubts, however.

February 13.

The quietest day that I have enjoyed here. I was able to visit Fritz twice. He seems better. I received a telegram from Louis saying that poor George is very weak, and has a longing for oysters. Here there are none, nor in Dieppe, where they must all be frozen.

In the evening came a telegram from August Arnim, according to which Gustav* was wounded at Dijon on the 18th instant. I shall wire to Dijon to-morrow to learn how he is.

The Parisians have made a pause of two days in the surrender of their arms. Yesterday, however, they recommenced operations.

If they show themselves slack about giving them up, the supplies of food will be cut.

* A nephew.

February 14.

To-day there is a talk of a prolongation of the armistice, as the National Assembly cannot meet as quickly as was supposed. I hope it will only be an increase of a few days, and granted under severer conditions, else the French will become uppish, and will not come to a decision.

No news from Gustav. Fritz is better. I visited him, and then went for a walk in the town.

The weather has become warm again, like spring. I hope it may remain so. I have had enough of the frost. In Germany they are still having 15° of cold.

I have to-day written to the Burgermeister of Düsseldorf accepting, with the greatest pleasure, the freedom of the city, which has been offered to me.

February 15.

No further decision come to as regards a prolongation of the armistice. All possible concessions are made to the Parisians in small ways: business has been facilitated, they are allowed to come out of the woods round St. Cloud, Meudon, etc., as far as Versailles—that is, right up to our barricades—to fetch in felled timber. They are beginning even to claim it as their right.

Voigts-Rhetz, the Commandant, will have to keep the Parisians out of this place, especially the suspicious-looking ones. It is indeed a hard post for him. I, on the contrary, am enjoying unwonted repose, and am quite at ease, doing my best to recover

from the life of excitement and prolonged worry that has been my lot.

The Prince took a long drive to St. Germain and Vesinet. I wisely remained at home, and again enjoyed my solitary ride in the park.

It appears to me that Bismarck is making small concessions in order to strengthen himself in resisting demands for greater ones. Whether this is good policy I know not. I should not be so complaisant even in the small ones. The French are distasteful to me in the extreme, and I should like to see them humbled even in trifles. I think such treatment would be more effective with them, as, from their point of view, every concession—which does not merely consist of courteous formalities—is looked upon as a sign of weakness.

February 16.

The armistice is to-day announced as prolonged till the afternoon of the 24th. The elections show a preponderance of Conservatives, and so we may look for peace.

Belfort has capitulated, the troops to be allowed to march out with all the honours of war, and the armistice is being observed over the whole of France.

To-day was beautiful, and I took my walk with Fritz to Sèvres and St. Cloud and Battery No. 1. Good news from George. Gustav was not wounded; his horse was shot and his foot crushed, but now he is fit again.

February 17.

The Crown Prince went to Orleans to-day, and on to Blois and Tours. Unfortunately, I could not go, as one of us has to remain here. In the afternoon I rode with Fritz to Meudon, to show him the batteries and the ruins of the castle which was burnt. The batteries had already been dismantled. It was a lovely ride, the weather being like spring.

In the evening I received a telegram from the Crown Prince. He had paid George a visit. The latter is better, but not yet out of danger.

February 18.

Rest is doing me much good.

To-day came the order to allow everybody into Paris who wants to enter, so that now business will begin again to assume its usual proportions. They say that Thiers has been elected in Bordeaux to carry on the executive and form a new Government. That sounds quite Orleanist. He is expected here to confirm the conditions of peace, for Bismarck has emphatically announced that if these are not ratified by the 24th the war shall recommence.

The foreign Powers, especially England, give one the impression of a desire to interfere, and this must be withstood.

It was a wonderfully beautiful day, and so I drove with Fritz to Issy, where we witnessed two explosions; they were burning old limbers and ammunition-boxes, in which some powder must have still been left. The second time we were not more than fifteen paces off,

and pieces of burning wood and cartridge-cases fell all round us.

In the evening I received a letter from General Eyre in England, who mentions the strong feeling there is against us among the Democrats and Radicals. They will do well to keep their fists in their pockets, if they do not want one on the nose for themselves.

In the evening I played a rubber of whist. There was also some music.

February 19.

To-day we have been exactly five months before Paris, and high time it is that we came away. It is still very doubtful, however, if we shall do so just yet, as we do not yet know whether the peace party in Bordeaux will gain the upper hand. We cannot depart from our conditions for a thousand reasons, and if the war must be continued it will be terrible. As for regular armies, there are none for us to fight, and the horrors and miseries of a guerilla warfare will devastate the land.

I went to church early this morning and listened to an excellent sermon by the chaplain to the division—Wilhelmj. In the afternoon I went to see the pictures at the castle with Fritz. It was again a lovely spring day.

February 20.

We had again to-day magnificent spring weather. In the forenoon I set my papers in order, and then in the afternoon went for a walk with Herkt in the woods. In the evening the Crown Prince arrived back

from his four days' journey to Tours, etc., and brought me good news of George, whom he visited in Orleans.

February 21.

In the night it poured in torrents; at 6.30 I travelled with Fritz and Albrecht and an orderly to Orleans through Invisy. We arrived there at one o'clock, and I brought great joy to Sandrart's heart in presenting him with the order *pour le mérite*, which I had brought with me.

My meeting with Louis and Louisa was very painful. I found them, however, quite resigned, for George has been pronounced comparatively better these last few days, though, as Langenbeck told me, danger is by no means past, since there are still some splinters of bone to come away from the wound, as well as pieces of cloth.

I took a walk with Louis and Sandrart, and we visited the beautiful cathedral, the bridges, and the Archbishop's palace. We then returned and sat some time with George, and then all partook of a sumptuous dinner with Sandrart at seven o'clock. Langenbeck, who has proved a dear good friend to George, was also there.

February 22.

Early this morning at 7.30 we took our seats in the train, and arrived here at 1.30.

The only news of importance was that the armistice has been prolonged until Sunday, the 26th, at midnight. They appear to think that the war will recommence, and the First and Second and the Army of the South

have accordingly received orders to concentrate in preparation for a march immediately on the expiration of the armistice.

Just as I arrived here M. Thiers came in to see the Crown Prince, and I had half an hour's conversation with him. He had been to the Kaiser at one o'clock. The Crown Prince afterwards took me to his room to tell me something about the conversation they had had, and to ask my opinion.

Thiers thinks that they cannot give up Lorraine (*i.e.*, Metz), and hopes that we can conclude peace on such terms. The Crown Prince asked me now whether we could concede the point about Metz. As far as I can see, he is not very keen about Metz.

I could only say that, above all things, it is necessary for us to consider the question apart from an annexation of territory; that we must adopt the principle of looking at it either from a military or a political point of view. If from a military point, the first consideration is the protection of Germany from French aggression, in which case Metz is indispensable to us. From a political point, whatever is still German must be ours.

If Metz has become thoroughly Gallicized (like Nancy)—and I do not know the place sufficiently to be able to judge—then we must certainly let it go; but in that case it must not remain as a fortress. It is bad enough already having a large hostile town like that upon our borders and on the Moselle.

Thiers maintains that France could not possibly pay two milliards of thalers; she has not got it. All I can say to this is that, if we only remain firm, they

will find the money quickly enough. We ourselves have been bled in a far more serious fashion, even to the half of our kingdom.

In place of Metz, Thiers offers us Luxemburg to buy. We shall want a good deal of French money to do that and to rebuild the fortress.

Thiers will not hear of our entering Paris.

Regarding this condition, there can be no question. It stands to reason that we must march in, and so lower the pride of this haughty and foolish people.

To allow the fortifications to stand, and so encourage the French to laugh in their sleeves when we march away from Paris, is altogether out of the question. It makes me choke to think of it.

It seems to me that the Kaiser and the Crown Prince, and several others, are content to leave their work half done, and their only desire is for peace. It would be a miserable ending.

It is all-important that we suffer no dictation. It is we who must dictate peace; and if the French will not have it, then we must crush them, or the battles will have to be fought out again from the beginning. What we have to do is to stand fast and firm. Concessions are weaknesses, and will only evoke a tremendous storm in Germany.

A victory is of no avail, as a rule, unless the pursuit is energetically followed up at once. A victorious war counts for nothing unless the conquered are well spoiled.

The Parisian newspapers threaten us with Orsini bombs and many other contemptible reprisals. It is all the more incumbent upon us to carry out our

intention and march in—else they will at once say that we are afraid.

February 23.

The weather to-day is again raw. Nothing doing, and all in suspense. Whether negotiations will take place to-day I know not.

As I caught a slight chill yesterday, I only took a short promenade to-day in the town.

The majority have no doubt about the conclusion of peace. I am not so sure; the Frenchman has no reason in his nature—only sentiment.

February 24.

To-day the weather was beautiful. The Crown Prince travelled in a special train to Dreux. I did not accompany him, as I still feel the effects of my chill. In the afternoon, however, I went for an hour's walk with Herkt to the basin.

In the evening the Grand-Dukes of Weimar and Baden came to dinner.

Late in the evening Professor Hassel came and told us that the conditions of peace had been settled.

We are to have Luxemburg, but Metz and Lorraine are to be given back. This restoration of Metz has all the appearance to me of a defeat, and will arouse in Germany a terrific storm.

I cannot bear to think that all the blood we have spilt round Metz is to avail us nothing.

The good military frontier which we have made so many sacrifices to obtain is to be given up, merely that we may obtain peace.

One would think that the army is exhausted by the war ; it is quite the reverse : it is burning to go forward. Whoever will not believe it should go in among the troops and judge for himself.

I have always been afraid that the Kaiser and the Crown Prince have had enough of the war, and that Bismarck—who now by bad luck has got the lumbago—joins to his policy things which, according to my way of thinking, have nothing to say to it. Now it is the foreign Powers, now it is compassion for the people, who must not be driven to extremities, and so on.

To the mind of a simple soldier, all this sounds too absurd.

The conquered enemy should be so made to bleed that he cannot recover for a hundred years ; he must be so fettered as to be incapable of dreaming of revenge.

If he continues in possession of Metz, he will break loose against us again, and I shall survive to see myself here again at war. I would much prefer to fight it out now, when it will only give us one-half the trouble.

Fritz has got to rejoin his regiment at Nogent-le-Retrou, which is going to make a route march to the West, it seems.

February 25.

This morning I was quite enraged at the bad news of yesterday, and therefore all the greater was my astonishment and joy when Major von Hahnke returned from attendance at the General Staff Head-

quarters, and brought me the news that Metz and a portion of Lorraine are to be ours; that Belfort is to be restored; that on Monday we are to march through Paris, even though it be only with a portion of our troops; and that four milliards of francs is the indemnity—in a word, everything that I longed for; and I must really apologize to Bismarck from the bottom of my heart! Moltke must have had a word yesterday, and hung on to Metz.

This morning it seemed as if all at once the whole question had been reopened, and we even began to conceive the possibility of recommencing hostilities at twelve o'clock to-night.

I took a ride alone, in beautiful spring weather, to the charming valley of Jouy, and when I came back I heard of the signing of the peace preliminaries, the conditions of which are so favourable to us.

We were all exceedingly rejoiced, and felt great gratification. It was only at dinner-time, however, that we knew it for a truth, and then the jubilations broke out afresh.

The armistice is prolonged until the 12th of March, with the right of a three days' notice on either side. On March 1st we enter Paris.

I would that poor George were better; his hopeless condition in Orleans robs me of all my joy.

Count Bismarck must have bargained most cleverly to have gained acceptance of such favourable conditions.

Shortly before I went to bed a communication arrived from Moltke notifying the signature of the

peace preliminaries, and ordering the entry into Paris for March 1st. To-morrow at ten o'clock one of the senior officers of the General Staff is to go and arrange all the details of the entry. I shall send Major von Hahnke.

February 27.

Major von Hahnke returned at about one o'clock, but brought no written instructions. On March 1st 30,000 of our troops are to enter Paris, and we are to retain the small *rayon* between the Seine, Place de la Concorde, and the Faubourg St. Honoré. General von Kameke is to be Commandant.

It is quite possible, however, that we may never enter Paris, for it has been stipulated that as soon as the Treaty of Peace has been approved by the National Assembly we are to evacuate Paris, which is only placed in our hands as a pledge.

If the treaty is ratified to-morrow, of course, we do not march in.

I consider this a very proper stipulation, on account of the many vexatious episodes that are sure to occur. Still, for the soldiers' sakes I hope we may make the entry, if only to let them see the ill-fated city and say that they marched in.

In the afternoon I took my walk round about the house, as I could not go far away.

The conditions regarding the entry into Paris, and the orders for the march, only arrived at eight o'clock in the evening, and gave us lots to do.

We dined at 6 p.m., as the Kaiser and the King of Wurtemberg wished to come to tea here at 8.30.

In the evening almost all the Princes, with the exception of the Kaiser, were here.

We also received the orders for the entry and a copy of the peace preliminaries.

The feeling of satisfaction among the Princes was very marked, and they all seemed exceedingly happy.

February 28.

Early this morning there was a great deal to do.

Count Notiz, who brought a communication from Kameke, told General Moltke that barricades had been erected during the night, that the National Guards had taken up a position on the ramparts, and that we were not to be allowed to enter.

Moltke had answered that it was all one to us. If we could not enter, we should bombard the town from all sides and invest it anew, as we were not going to commit ourselves to street-fighting.

I believe really that the preliminaries will be ratified to-day, and that the French have only erected barricades to be able to say that if peace had not been declared we should never have been allowed to enter their holy city.

As I was not able to go far afield, I took a small walk in the wood, in rear of our villa, where Stotzenberg picked me up, and I then accompanied him into the city.

At mid-day I dined at the Kaiser's table, where a large gala feast was spread in honour of the King of Wurtemberg. At nine o'clock there was a grand tattoo.

Everything is arranged for to-morrow's march.

March 1.

This day has been a memorable day, the significance of which will be better appreciated hereafter.

At nine o'clock we drove to Suresnes. Thence we went on foot, and at the Tribune in Longchamps we mounted our horses on the very spot where, in 1867, I stood with my Adjutant, Von Bredon, to see the great review of the French troops before the Emperor of Austria.

At that time I was much annoyed (and I said so to Bredon) at the arrogant expression in the faces of the French Marshals and the Generals. I said to him, also, that I hoped we should ourselves soon hold a grand parade here too. That it would ever come true I had never a suspicion.

To-day 30,000 men belonging to the First, Eleventh, and Second Bavarian Army Corps were drawn up here.

The Kaiser arrived, inspected the troops, and then the march towards Paris began.

With the Duke of Coburg, Gottberg, and others, I placed myself at the head of the column, and we marched through the Bois de Boulogne — terribly devastated — and the Avenue de l'Impératrice to the Arc de l'Étoile, and thence along the Champs Élysées to the obelisk on the Place de la Concorde.

I knew all these places well, and I was very glad to see them, but it was a strange impression that they made. Everywhere the silence of death — no carriages, no horsemen, not a green tree ; nothing but the bare walls of apparently empty houses. All seemed waste and desolate. At the Arc de l'Étoile there was a

crowd of common people, who raised a sound of hissing and whistling, but otherwise all was still and quiet.

From the Place de la Concorde we marched back along the Seine to the Place du Roi de Rome (Trocadero), where a portion of the Eleventh Corps commenced to bivouac.

It was a striking spectacle, and all the more so when one looked across the Seine and saw on the Champs de Mars a mass of huts, many hundreds of tents, and everywhere crowds of French soldiers.

The Bridge of Jena was barricaded with carts. We then rode back through Passy, Boulogne, and Sèvres, breakfasting with Bernuth in Chaville. I was famished and dead-tired. At the beginning of the parade it was dull, but afterwards very fine.

After the parade the Kaiser spoke with me for a long while. He was very gracious, and thanked me, among others, for the part I had played throughout the war. He told me, too, that this was the third time he had been present at a parade on this spot.

I also had an opportunity of telling Count Bismarck how gratified we all felt at the successful termination to the negotiations that he had brought about. He told me that the peace preliminaries had already been accepted in Bordeaux by a large majority, but with bleeding hearts.

We shall therefore be out of this in a few days.

In the evening I received a telegram saying that, unfortunately, George was not so well. Langenbeck dined with me, but he returns early to-morrow to Orleans.

March 2.

To-day the news has been communicated to us that the National Assembly at Bordeaux has accepted peace.

Our troops, therefore, march out of Paris to-morrow at 11 a.m., and in a few days we shall leave this country and free the left bank of the Seine of our troops. The matériel must be brought away with speed, and that will give us plenty to do.

At dinner I received a telegram from Langenbeck, at Orleans, to say that George's condition was hopeless. Poor Louis! How will he get over it? It has quite overcome me, and I can hardly grasp it.

March 3.

To-day, at eleven o'clock, there was again a grand parade of the Guard, of No. 7 Regiment, and the siege companies at Longchamps. The weather splendid.

Afterwards I took a drive with the Crown Prince in the wasted Bois de Boulogne.

On my return I received a telegram from Louis that George had passed away during the previous night. Poor Louis! It makes me very unhappy.

At dinner with Belgian officers, and had to speak French.

March 4.

This morning we received from the King's Headquarters the instructions for the evacuation of the country on the left bank of the Seine, the occupation

of the country between Paris and our frontier, and the return of matériel, Landwehr troops, etc.

The Fifth Army Corps goes to the Army of the South, the Fourth Cavalry Division comes back to us.

We also heard news of an insurrection in Paris, and a call for French troops by rail to suppress it, whom we shall have to let through.

It will be a peculiar situation if we are here to see the Parisians killing each other. It is no affair of ours ; still, if an insurrection takes place whilst we are here, we shall have to help to suppress it.

It is very unfortunate that the Kaiser will not depart—at least, that he will not make up his mind to do so. Matters would then be greatly expedited.

The Crown Prince drove to Chartres. I was, however, not in the humour to drive with him, and preferred going with Viebahn to St. Germain, where we again enjoyed the beautiful view in clear and bright sunshine.

March 5.

Our forts have been evacuated, and will be handed over the day after to-morrow. The French appear to know how to humbug our Headquarters and talk them over, so that their *rayon* becomes daily bigger. At first they wanted the villages by Boulogne, on the right bank of the Seine, handed over to them, then the peninsula Gennevilliers, and now they even want Versailles, to hold their National Assembly there.

A great deal of our matériel is still lying collected at Clamart and Vitry ; we have got, however, to

relinquish the villages ; as soon as this takes place we shall have formally evacuated the district.

The Parisians are behaving themselves like veritable children : the restaurants which have been used by our officers have all been destroyed ; even the dust of the roads upon which they have walked has been collected and thrown into the Seine, and so on.

The mob seems to have the upper hand, and are preparing for an insurrection.

General Vinoy is very energetic, and has received to-day more reinforcements, brought hither by train ; it is doubtful, however, if, even with 40,000 men, he will be master of the situation.

It is a very hard time for me. Hardly a quarter of an hour passes without a telegram arriving, and all the pleasure of work has now left me, as it has many others.

A telegram came suddenly towards evening, announcing that to-morrow some battalions of the Gardes-mobiles, of course unarmed, but under discipline, are to be marched by stages to their homes, and quartered along with our troops on the route. This cannot be carried out without some friction.

We had to telegraph in all directions till late in the night, and had a lot of writing to do. Hahnke will have to work pretty hard.

We had again splendid spring weather, and I took a long walk with Herkt to the basin and into the wood. The Crown Prince dined with the Kaiser. I trust that we shall be able to leave Versailles on the 10th or 11th.

The Crown Prince goes on the 7th to Ferrières ; we

shall afterwards go to Meaux, whence I trust we shall speedily travel homewards.

Poor Louis and Louise travelled yesterday to Lagny, and will cross the Prussian frontier to-day.

March 6.

I have been working like a horse the whole morning and receiving people, so that towards mid-day I became quite irritable. Then came up thunder-clouds, which always give me headache.

As soon as I got into the fresh air I felt better. I went into the town, and afterwards walked with Herkt into the gardens of the Post, where we looked for violets.

At dinner-time a communication from the King reached the Crown Prince. It contained the cross of the Order of the Red Eagle (First Class) for me.

March 7.

At seven o'clock this morning the Crown Prince journeyed to Villiers to hold a parade, and thence to Ferrières.

At 8.30 the Kaiser started. The officers were all at the Préfecture taking leave. When I reported myself on receiving the Order the Kaiser was most gracious, and said some very kind things to me. He kissed me twice with tears in his eyes. I fancy it will be very hard for him to return from here, where his life has been so important and remarkable. It is strange that he cannot make up his mind to leave

France ; but he has got to be in Berlin at once. I do not consider it at all advisable that he should remain longer in the enemy's country, where he has nothing more to do, and where he is threatened by dangers of all kinds. It was only yesterday that I received a warning letter from Paris saying that nitro-glycerine bombs were being made for an attempt on the life of the Kaiser and the Crown Prince.

Bismarck and Roon have departed for Berlin to-day, and likewise the foreign Princes (of the second rank) and many officers of the Staff ('sleeping members') who could be dispensed with.

The working Staff must remain to labour and to clean up ; that is always my fate. However, I hope to have finished the principal part to-day. The troops have received their orders for the march, and everything has been arranged for the return of the matériel.

The people of Versailles are beginning to hold up their heads again, but the stern Commandant Voigts-Rhetz will keep them in order.

We shall have evacuated Versailles by the 10th or 11th, to make room for the National Assembly.

The French understand how to make us pay through the nose, and we remain the good-natured, patient clowns that we are, and take everything contentedly. It drives me often wild, but I can do nothing, I have so little power. I shall be thoroughly well pleased when I am gone.

In the afternoon I took a lovely ride with Albrecht in the park, now beginning to get green.

The forts on the south front have to-day all been

handed back to the French without any contretemps. The town looks bare and waste.

The one thing that I shall leave here with regret is my lovely snug bed.

March 8.

A quiet day at last, of which I have the greatest need.

Consul Bamberg came to-day and bought my old horse. I am glad to place him in such good hands, after serving me so gallantly in three campaigns.

To-day was a wonderfully beautiful spring day, and I took a long and pleasant walk with Herkt in the park opposite our house as far as the Bièvres Valley.

The expedition of the ammunition is not going on so quickly as I had hoped. Our sick and wounded have nearly all been transported homewards, with the exception of some few who cannot be moved, poor fellows ! and must remain here.

In the Second Army they appear not to be getting on so fast as we are, and they say that in Le Mans there are between four and five hundred. I have taken the matter in hand, and despatched three hospital trains to Le Mans. It is dreadful for the poor wounded men who have to be left behind.

March 9.

To-morrow we hope to be off, and to-day are engaged in packing up vigorously.

This morning I bought a beautiful brougham, which I hope will greatly please my wife.

It is again very cold.

From Paris very bad news. It seems as though a revolution of the worst kind is breaking out. The Reds have occupied Montmartre with batteries, and have turned the guns on to the town, especially the Tuileries and the Louvre.

General Vinoy thinks that with his 40,000 men, a portion of whom are not to be depended upon, he will not be able to hold out. It makes us all the happier to think that we have come out of it.

We have, unfortunately, to leave from twenty to thirty wounded and sick here. I have ordered a field hospital to be left, though I do not know what our privileges are in this respect according to the Convention. They have told me nothing about it, and I must act on my own responsibility.

To-day Oetinger was here. He is very well, Fritz likewise.

Versailles up to the present is quite quiet, and will do well to remain so.

This evening I received a telegram from the Crown Prince, giving me hopes that our Staff will be broken up on the 15th and return to Berlin. Unexpected bliss !

St. Gratien, March 10.

At 8.30 this morning we quitted Versailles bag and baggage with feelings of joy on our homeward march.

Although our numbers have been considerably reduced, I was astonished at the very respectable show our baggage-train—nearly a mile long—made.

We rode through Sèvres, past the bridge at Neuilly, and through Argenteuil, the weather clearing up considerably. It was a beautiful ride.

Here, in company with twenty officers, I entered the castle of Princess Matilde (alias Demidoff), and took up my quarters in her bed-chamber.

The castle was furnished with all that English comfort and French vanity could suggest. It has no particularly striking exterior, but the interior is exceedingly comfortable. The few attendants that are there were not forthcoming, and I found some difficulty myself in getting clean bed-linen. The country around beautiful; equally so the large park.

Not far from here, situated in a charming position on the lake, stands the house of our Consul, Bamberg. He and his wife received us there in the afternoon, and we saw the terrible destruction that the quartering of our troops had caused during the winter.

At the first sight one could not help ejaculating the word 'Vandals!' but when one considers how our poor fellows for the past six months have suffered, and how they have frozen in the cold, the damage is not to be wondered at. One must look upon them as soldiers in a starving and frozen state to understand the thing properly, and add to it the bitterness they felt towards their enemy.

In this castle one does not meet with it so much, and it is pretended that we have spared it because it is the castle of a Princess. I would sooner see the poorer man spared. Our cook has turned us out a first-rate dinner, in spite of having nothing in the house, not even firewood!

March 11.

Early this morning M. Marcoll, the Princess's agent, came to me and complained of damages which our people had caused in the old castle. I had the matter inquired into by Lieutenant von Bissing, and M. Marcoll was told that if he brought such stories and groundless complaints of this nature I should have him arrested. He retired, white as a corpse. It is a great impertinence that we should be supposed to sleep on the ground in bivouac with such a beautiful castle in our possession.

At the desire of M. Marcoll, I allowed the concierge to make out a specification that by the wish of the Kaiser the Princess's château was not to be used—unless unavoidable—for further billeting of our troops, although we had not been by any means kindly received, but, on the contrary, had suffered inhospitable and rude behaviour. As to the complaint of M. Marcoll, there was not a word of truth in it, except the falling of a blind and the displacement of a wardrobe from the telegraph-room into the corridor.

At nine o'clock we marched forth. The weather was cold but fine.

At St. Denis, where many signs of the bombardment were evident, we visited the cathedral, which, though being renovated at the time, is one of the most beautiful works I have seen.

The curious contrast of the words outside, 'Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité,' with the tombs of Kings and Queens inside, which have been there since the sixth century, was striking.

Among the beautiful glass windows representing Biblical subjects, one window contained a picture of Napoleon I. in a green uniform, looking like Louis Philippe.

At Bondy we made a halt for breakfast, whereat I received the unpleasant news that the axletree of the hind-wheels of my baggage-waggon had broken. It has been spliced.

About one o'clock we arrived at the castle called Le Vert Galant, where Prince George* of Saxony and his Staff were quartered the whole winter.

It is a very modest and dirty place, but we can put up with it for a day.

The destruction that we witnessed on the march was truly terrible. In the village of Bondy there is not a single house habitable—all shot through; one can have no conception of such a spectacle if one has not witnessed it.¹

In Paris it seems to be getting more terrible daily—everybody is fleeing who can.

According to the newspapers, Rochefort has shot himself; the Reds must be in despair.

Meaux, March 12.

The weather to-day was most beautiful, like summer. I found it very comfortable in Vert Galant, and in spite of the absence of bed-linen slept wonderfully.

At 9.30 we rode forth. It was a delightful ride.

After leaving Claye we made a short halt, and then at one o'clock arrived here, where, with Gottberg,

* The present King of Saxony.

Lenke, and Sommerfeld, I am billeted on the Bishop in his palace. He is a little old man, half blind but very jovial, and received us with his staff of priests most kindly.

The great state-room, which in turn has been occupied by Bossuet, Louis XVI., Napoleon I., Carl X., and then Moltke, I handed over to Lenke, as it was a very cold room, and went myself into a smaller one, but, unfortunately, not much warmer, where the chimney smoked abominably. We had a big breakfast all together at Hôtel Grignon, for which we paid very dearly, and in the evening we had an excellent dinner with our host, where we sat at table alternately with the priests.

Regarding the breaking-up of our Staff I have heard nothing, but, on the other hand, had to deal with a mass of other telegrams.

The French had not consented to the arrangements for victualling the troops by the 10th, and, to put pressure on, the Twenty-second Division, with the General's Headquarters, had remained at Versailles.

Vinoy, who wished to occupy it with 2,000 men, had to bivouac outside.

Everything is now completed, and the last troops, including sick and wounded, excepting only Captain Nolte, have left the town.

This has been a wonderfully warm summer evening.

Meaux, March 13.

I did not sleep well, for, though my bed was a very beautiful one, it was damp and clammy. I dare say nobody slept in it the whole winter.

At nine o'clock I went to the railway-station with all the officers to greet the Kaiser and his Staff as they passed through. He travels to-day to Nancy, where the Crown Prince is to join him to-morrow. The Kaiser asked me if I were not coming to Nancy also, to which I could only reply that I had to await orders.

It is very necessary that I should do so, for I think it a great mistake to allow all the heads of departments hurriedly to quit their posts, and leave the subordinates without a lead.

The Crown Prince of Saxony, who will most likely take command of the two armies united into one, has gone to Dresden to fetch his wife, and I cannot leave Gottberg alone to take charge unassisted, without special orders to do so.

Moreover, I do not wish the army to think that I am leaving it stranded whilst I hurry home. If I get a positive order, there is nothing more to be said; but they have not thought of that.

At 11.30 we breakfasted with our hospitable Bishop, then took a lovely walk into the garden, and were shown over the beautiful cathedral, which is built in a very simple style, but is wonderfully bright and has a most peaceful aspect. It dates from the twelfth century, and has an unfinished belfry. It appears to me quite a masterpiece.

At last my room has become comparatively warm.

After dinner we sat awhile with Lenke, and at 10.30 went to bed.

Meaux, March 14.

I have slept splendidly, and feel remarkably well, but am living in the hope of receiving the order to leave. All are pressing to get away—General Baumbach, Count Bothmer, Dr. Hassel, General Walker, who is recalled to England, and so on—but no one dares leave without an order.

It is very comfortable in my room, but I am beginning to find time hang, and have no pleasure in anything.

Our host, Bishop Allou, is a jovial, kindly and amusing man, and so hospitable that we are always being asked to dine.

In the afternoon I rode with Albrecht to the Marne, and took a walk through Trilpost, during which I got wet.

No news yet, and so we must wait patiently.

March 15.

To-day it became suddenly very cold, so that I was unable to take my ride. In the afternoon I paid a visit to the Sous-Préfet de Tettau, where I spent a very pleasant hour in conversation. I then had a short walk with Colonel von Studnitz, the Road Commandant, a very old acquaintance, and returned home.

Still no order arrived about the dismissal of the Staff. It will not come as quickly as I had hoped, and, as my room is frightfully cold and draughty, and the chimney often smokes, it is a very uncomfortable state of affairs.

Work has nearly ceased, but I would far sooner

be at work, for I should then feel happier. Our hospitable Bishop is always inviting Albrecht to dinner.

After dinner we joined the officers at the Hôtel Grignon. The noise and tobacco-smoke were, however, very unpleasant to me.

After dinner a letter from poor Louis reached me, in which he states that George's remains have been taken to Frankfurt.

Meaux, March 16.

When I awoke this morning there was a frightful snowstorm raging, and the ground was several inches deep in snow—a most unpleasant state of affairs, not improved by the exceedingly draughty state of my room. I cannot go out, and, as I cannot do much reading on account of my eyes, and feel the draught on all sides of me, it is exceedingly disagreeable.

Yesterday afternoon old General Hartmann came here to say good-bye. Throughout the whole campaign we have never had any misunderstanding, but have got along together capitally, so that we part the best of friends.

This afternoon at four o'clock came an order from the Cabinet, intimating that, by the special wish of the Crown Prince, I am to accompany him on his return. It would be impossible for me to reach Berlin in time for his arrival, as he is already at Weimar.

I determined, therefore, to go by Düsseldorf and Krampfer, so as to be in Berlin on the 22nd, the Emperor's birthday.

Everything connected with the transport of my horses and carriage was arranged, and at 6.30 I took my leave of the whole Staff. The Staff has to remain here.

It was very hard to part from these officers, who have been so faithful and helpful to me in every way. Especially am I thankful to Gottberg, who has taken off my shoulders the burden of routine, and relieved me of all its unpleasantries. His work has been marked by unusual thoroughness and good-nature.

After last night's dinner I took leave of our hospitable Bishop.

On March 17th, at five o'clock in the morning, I was at the railway-station, where a first-class coupé had been reserved for me.

The journey passed rapidly and cheerfully, and at Frouard I met Hennig, the carriage-builder, and all his family, who had been driven from Paris.

We travelled through Metz to Saarbrücken, which we reached at about nine o'clock in the evening, where a surprise party of young girls welcomed me and presented me with a laurel crown.

In the evening it was very cheery, in the landlord's room of the good German Hôtel Royal, to be drinking my bottle of Moselle wine in the good old fashion, in company with the commercial travellers. It all seemed like home, and I felt very happy and contented.

On March 18, at eight o'clock, in company with some officers and Landrath von Pommer-Esche, I travelled by train to St. Wendel, and thence to Birigen, from which station I was alone for the rest of the journey to Cologne.

I cannot describe how beautiful the Rhine looked, unlike anything I had seen in France.

I arrived at Cologne at seven o'clock, and met at the railway-station the Duke of Coburg, with whom I took a cup of coffee. At 8.45 I entered Düsseldorf amid the firing of cannon, and was received by a deputation of the Town Council, who greeted me with a very complimentary speech.

Clara and Laura* were also at the station, and we drove through the Neustadt, which had been illuminated for the occasion, to our house, where I was serenaded in the evening.

The 19th of March I devoted to my children and grandchildren. I had also to pay and receive many visits.

On the 20th of March I went in the forenoon to Wittenberge, where I was received with cheers, and at two o'clock took the extra-post to Krampfer, where I found all assembled to celebrate the Emperor's birthday. My wife, with Otto and Agnes, was also there. It was a happy meeting and a very enjoyable day.

On the 21st I travelled with my wife to Berlin, and put up at the Hôtel d'Angleterre. My entry into the town was amusing. The carriage had not come, and we had to take the only droschke that there was, with a very tired horse, and had to slink through the most unfrequented streets. All the hotels were full, and it was only by the courtesy of the landlord that we found beds in a little attic in the Hôtel d'Angleterre. It was the opening day of the Reichsrath.

* The Field-Marshal's daughters.

On the 22nd of March, the Kaiser's birthday, I went to his reception at eleven o'clock, and there met many retired Generals who formerly had been my commanding officers—a strange feeling. Kindness and hearty sincerity surrounded me on all sides—perhaps, too, a little envy and malice. The Court sycophants were there in their full gala-dress, and had again established themselves in their old functions. The soldier has now again to give place to the civilian.

The Kaiser was as gracious, as kindly and as hearty as ever, and spoke to me very gratefully of what I had done for his son.

Afterwards I went to the Crown Prince, who received me in his old manner in no way changed.

In the evening I walked with my wife through the illuminated streets. My horses and carriage had arrived safely in charge of Captain von der Lancken.

On March 24th I had an audience with the Crown Princess,* which lasted quite an hour. She sat on the sofa, and held on her arm her youngest child.

Her conversation was natural, unaffected, and to the point, without flattery or any direct expressions of gratitude; still, she made me feel, in her whole bearing towards me, how much she appreciated the fidelity of my service to her husband.

I can now understand how it is that she has aroused so much enmity and jealousy; in her naturalness she stands so far above the others that no one can imitate her. They cannot forgive her that simplicity and natural bearing, and want to fetter her in the strictest

* Princess Royal of England.

bonds of etiquette, and so deprive her of that charm which raises her to so high a pinnacle in the eyes of every reasonable man. It appeared to amuse her greatly that the three men who had had to work together so much—the Crown Prince, Gottberg, and I—all had English wives. I had to write my name in her album.

On March 25th the Crown Prince gave a gala-dinner. Louis was with us before we went. He is quite bowed down by his great loss.

On the 26th I presented myself to the Crown Prince, to whom I had still much to report. He gave me unlimited leave to go to Horst.

At mid-day Dammas came to dinner with us.

On the 27th I experienced great joy in taking my place in the train *en route* for Horst, where I arrived at four o'clock in the afternoon.

In Berlin the weather had been beautiful, so that we did not require fires. But two hours after our arrival here we had a thunderstorm, and it has become so icy cold since that we are in the greatest discomfort, all suffering from colds and coughs, so that we can scarcely go out of doors.

I have got a terrible attack of lumbago, and can scarcely move. I trust that, after all my hard work, I shall not find too long a rest harmful.

In Berlin I could learn nothing about the homeward march of the army, nor of my own people, as the disturbances in Paris keep everything unsettled.

I fancy, however, that, as far as I am concerned, the campaign is closed, and so to-day—April 3rd—I close my journal.

APPENDIX I

TRANSLATION OF A LETTER ADDRESSED TO THE FIELD-MARSHAL BY THE CROWN PRINCE

Ostend, July 30, 1877.

MY DEAR BLUMENTHAL,

It is to me a matter of great self-sacrifice that I have to refrain from offering to you my congratulations this day in person, upon your entrance, fifty years ago, into our army, and that I can only communicate with you through the medium of ink and marble.*

Only the conviction that you appreciate my true loyalty, and the knowledge of the high respect I have for you, coupled with the feeling on my part of true gratitude towards you, give me the assurance that my absence on this, your day of honour, will not be taken amiss.

I have long endeavoured to apportion my time so as to be able to be with you at your double festival, and have taken some pains to arrange a different date for the Jubilee, but in vain ; for your birthday is likewise the anniversary of your first commission, and my engagements only permit me to accompany my family to the seaside from the end of July to the middle of August.

Accept, now, the guest fashioned in stone who will present himself to you, as my substitute, on July 30th. If he could speak,

* The Crown Prince presented a marble bust of himself on this day to the Field Marshal.

he would tell you that there are few men upon earth to whom I would more readily give my whole trust than to you, and that there are few for whom I have so great a regard.

May this but recall the memorable days during which I was permitted to have my Mentor at my side—a time when not only the Prussian monarchy was at stake, but also the existence of the German Empire.

In the history of that time your name is inseparable from mine, and this connection will, I am convinced, be handed down to future generations by my children.

I pray now that God may maintain in you for many years to come that power and efficiency which has been so valuable to our army, and that the experiences of the war and the treasure of scientific knowledge which you brought to bear upon its conduct may bring you reward in the fullest sense.

The Crown Princess joins me in kind remembrances and best wishes for your happiness, and we both desire the same for your wife.

I am,

Your truly devoted friend,

FRIEDRICH WILHELM,

Kronprinz.

APPENDIX II

AN AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF FIELD-MARSHAL COUNT VON BLUMENTHAL'S EARLY DAYS

(WRITTEN IN JANUARY, 1848)

I WAS born on July 30th, 1810, at Schwedt on the Oder, where my father, a Captain in the 2nd Dragoons, was quartered at the time.

Owing to the continual absence of my father on service, my mother was obliged to leave the place and reside with her father, Hauptmann von Below, whose property lay in the neighbourhood of Stolpe, in Pomerania. There I spent my childhood until the death of my father, which took place at the Battle of Dennewitz, fighting for the Fatherland. This left me and my three brothers orphans. I was then separated from the others, and brought up in the house of my grandfather until I reached my tenth year.

Being a man of property, my grandfather used to spend his summers on his estate, and his winters in Berlin.

I had thus a good opportunity of seeing something of the world and enlarging my views; but, on the other hand, the repeated changes of teachers and the interruption of my studies in the elementary stages of education so far hindered my progress that, when His Majesty the King was graciously pleased to nominate me for entrance into the cadet-school at Culm, I was only able to take my place in the lowest class.

Here I found myself for the first time thrown with boys of my

own age, and I was soon seized with the desire to push ahead of them. So well did I now progress that in a year and a half I reached the first class, and became an under-officer.

Through my extreme youth, however, I was kept back from further advancement, as we were not allowed to leave that establishment for the Berlin Cadetteninstitut until fourteen years old.

In the year 1824 I succeeded in attaining the rank of under-officer in that school, and I passed through the classes so quickly that I was allowed to present myself for the officer's examination in the summer of the year 1827.

The instruction at the cadet school, although in many ways meagre and superficial, had not for its aim the mere passing of examinations, but we got there very interesting lectures in mathematics (oh my Gruson!) and history, and there I acquired my taste for sciences.

In languages there was but little done; Latin ceased altogether to be taught in lectures, and in French I never got much beyond the rudiments. To the matter of bodily exercises, however, much greater care was given, and I fancy that I particularly distinguished myself in drill, swordsmanship, dancing, riding, etc., and so increased my physical strength that I managed to undergo all the hardships of my first manœuvres without any undue strain.

His gracious Majesty had the kindness on my seventeenth birthday to appoint me Second Lieutenant in the Guard-Reserve Regiment at Potsdam. Here I spent three years learning the rudiments of the practical side of the military art.

My leisure hours, which I enjoyed with all the freedom of youth, I made use of, for the most part, in preparing for my course at the Garrison War School, and in perfecting myself in the knowledge of the French language.

In the years 1830 to 1833 I attended the Garrison War School lectures, as well as certain lectures at the University on history and mathematics.

Most of the lessons in the first syllabus were merely a repeti-

tion of what I had already learnt, but the knowledge I was acquiring of the practical side of the military life added a zest to the study of the scientific side.

The tactical studies in the second term, and the study of the duties of the General Staff, and of military history in the third term, determined me to devote my pleasure, my love, and my life to gaining a distinguished military position.

I henceforth cast out the thought of following in the train of my elder brother, who by the purchase of a property in Pomerania had acquired for himself the ease and comfort of an independent existence.

In the summer of 1833 I took part in a Staff ride, under Major von Staff, in the neighbourhood of Frankfort-on-the-Oder. Here I had the opportunity for the first time of reading immense tracts of country by military maps and sketches, and cultivated the practice of reducing to writing in the shortest time the orders and dispositions requisite for whatever military movements had been planned.

To my regret this Staff ride lasted only eight days, and I was then obliged to return to my regiment at Potsdam.

Here my time was very much taken up with practical work, and it was the desire of my heart to take command of the company, if only for a short time, and to learn all that there was to learn of the interior economy, orderly-room duties, etc., in connection therewith.

Several opportunities now came to me, such as Landwehr drills and manœuvres, and the great concentration of the Russian and Prussian troops at Kalisch, and I was thus enabled, not only to make good progress in my military studies, but also to break the tedium of military garrison life.

In the year 1836 I made use of my three months' leave to take a journey through the Rhine provinces to Belgium and France, where I tried my best to learn all about the military dispositions of the French, and to pick up what I could of the French language.

In February, 1837, I was unexpectedly appointed Adjutant

and Paymaster to the Guard-Landwehr Battalion at Coblenz, and from that time was for eight years away from my own company and regiment.

Here I learnt very soon all about the administration of military affairs, and did my best to get an insight into the ordinary and the extraordinary intricacies of Landwehr arrangements. I was greatly helped in this by having to go through four times a month's training at manœuvres, and, among other things, in 1842 I attended a royal review.

I also filled the place for a whole year, without emolument, of the Town Major during his illness, in order that I might learn his work, and become acquainted with the Generals and other celebrities who were continually passing through Coblenz. Still, my duties left me so much leisure that, to occupy my time, I took up earnestly the study of military history, and studied hard the Italian and English languages. I soon dropped the former as useless for the practical purposes of life, but in the latter I was fortunate in finding a very pleasant opportunity of studying it intimately.

In the summer of 1839 I married a young English lady whose mother came to live a short time in Coblenz. I was in this way thrown among a great many Englishmen, and saw much of their ways and heard much of their language. A three months' visit to England is one of the pleasantest reminiscences of my life.

In the year 1841 I was offered an appointment in the topographical department, which I was, unfortunately, unable to take up, being compelled by a rheumatic trouble to take summer after summer a course of baths at Wiesbaden.

Later I was quite restored, and did my best by making walking tours in the Rhine Provinces and in Switzerland, and by all sorts of exercise—riding, shooting, etc., in all weathers—to harden myself for marching with troops. In this I succeeded well, and when, in 1844, I was promoted First Lieutenant, I returned to my regiment in Potsdam hard as nails.

Since my recovery it had been my earnest wish to be allowed

to join the topographical department, and on that account I had worked hard when in Coblenz at military sketching in the mountains. Unfortunately, however, owing to various family matters, I found myself unable to ask for a billet until 1846.

In that year, His Excellency General von Krausenek having recommended my application, I was appointed to the topographical department in Niederlausitz, where I have now (1848) worked for two years, spending the spring months in studying artillery, so as to know something of this important arm. Now, after nearly seventeen years' service as Second Lieutenant, and four years as First Lieutenant (in company with so many of my comrades in the same unhappy lot), despairing of anything like early promotion, I find consolation in the thought that I have done my duty to the best of my ability. I have always endeavoured, both in private life and in my military career, to get as much change as possible of scene and work, so as to keep my body healthy and my spirits young.

THE END



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Index to Authors.

	PAGE		PAGE		PAGE
Abbott, G. F.	3, 20	Gardner, Alice	17, 27	O'Brien, Capt. A.	9, 16
ABOUT	13	Gaunt, Mary	14	Odysseus	17
Adalet	13	George, Florence A.	23	Olipphant, P. L.	7, 14
Adams, E. Davenport	27	Gleichen, Count	20	Oman, C.	12, 17
Adderley, Hon. and Rev. J.	15	Godman, E.	11	Onyx	19
Alexander, W. Gordon	15	Gordon, Sir T. E.	20	Osborne, Rev. C. E.	4, 16
Ames, Ernest	25	Goschen, Viscount	18	Oxenden, Maud	14
Andersen, Hans Christian	26	Graham, W.	28		
Ashbee, C. R.	11	Grattan, W.	9, 15	Pasley, Louisa M. S.	16
Austin, Major H. H.	2, 20	Great Public Schools	25	Peel, Hon. G.	6, 17
		Grey, Earl	15	Peel, Hon. S.	21
Bagot, Mrs. C.	15	Grey, H. M.	20	Pearson, Karl	29
Bagot, Doria	20	Gurdon, J.	6, 19	Pembrey, M. S.	29
Bagot, R.	7, 13			Percy, Earl	21
Bell, Mrs. Hugh	3, 13, 18, 25	Hall, Bradnock	14	Perry, Prof. John	29
Benson, A. C.	17	Halliday, G.	29	Phillipps, L. March	21
Berkeley, Hon. Grantley F.	22	Hare, Augustus J. C.	15	Phillips, C. D. F.	29
Bevan, E. R.	5, 17	Harrison, S. Frances	14	Pickering, Sidney	14
Beynon, W. G. L.	20	Harrow School	25	Pigott, T. Digby	23
Bisiker, W.	20	Hartshorne, Albert	25	Pigou, Very Rev. Francis	16
Blumenthal, von, Count	1, 15	Henderson, M. Sturge	7, 17	Pike, Warburton	21
Boulger, G. S.	28	Henson, Canon	19	Pilkington, E. M. S.	25
Bradley, Cuthbert	20	Hervey, M. H.	26	Pinsent, Ellen F.	14
Brookfield, C. H. E.	6, 15	Hickman, Capt. W. T.	14	Podmore, C. T.	14
Browne, E. M. Balfour	13	Hill, Leonard	28	Pollok, Lieut.-Colonel	21
Brown, Edward	23	Hoff, Dr. J. H. Van 'T.	29	Powles, L. D.	26
Bull, H. J.	20	Hofmeyr, A.	20	Price, L. L.	17
Bunsen, Marie von	13	Hole, Dean	15, 23	Pritchett, R. T.	21
Burne, Commander C. R. N.	18	Holland, Bernard	16		
Burneside, Margaret	18	Holland, Canon	19	Quiller Couch, A. T.	19
Butler, A. J.	18	Holmes, Thomas	15		
		Holt, Ardern	23	Radford, Mrs. C. H.	14
Campbell, J. G. D.	20	Hopkinson, A. M.	27	Raleigh, Walter	4, 16, 18
Caunt, G. W.	28	Hughes, J. L.	18	Ransome, Cyril	17
Chapman, Abel	20	Hussey, Eyre	14	Raymond, Evelyn	27
Charleton, R. J.	13	Hutchinson, Horace G.	14	Reed, E. T.	26
Cherbuliez, Victor	13	Hutchison, Robert	28	Reid, Arnot	21
Chester, Norley	13			Reynolds, Rev. S. H.	19
Children's Favourite Series	29	India Office Publications	29	Richmond, Rev. Wilfrid	29
Children's Hour Series	29	International Education	31	Roberts, Morley	14
Cholmondeley, Mary	13	Series	31	Rochefort, Henri	16
City Series	8			Rodd, Sir Rennell	19
Clough, Blanche A.	12, 15	Johnston, Annie Fellows	27	Roebuck, Rt. Hon. J. A.	16
Clouston, J. Storer	13	Keith, A.	28	Roy, Gordon	14
Clouston, K. Warren	25	Kelsey, W. R.	28	Rumbold, Sir Horace	6, 16
Clowes, W. Laird	27	Kenney-Herbert	24	Russell, W. Clark	13
Clutterbuck, E. H.	6, 19	Knox, T. W.	27		
Coleridge, M. E.	13	Knutsford, Lady	16	Scrope, William	22
Collingwood, W. G.	13, 18	Kuhns, L. Oscar	18	Seton, Christine	14
Collins, J. Churton	19	Lake, Katharine	16	Shaw, C. Weeks	29
Colville, Sir H. E.	20	Lang, Andrew	18	Shorland, F. W.	24
Cook, E. T.	17	Le Fanu, W. R.	16	Sidgwick, Mrs. A.	7, 14
Cosmopolite	22	Legh, M. H. Cornwall	26, 27	Slatin Pasha, Sir Rudolf	21, 26
Crabbe, George	19	Lehfeldt, Dr. R. A.	28	Smith, A. Donaldson	21
Craunford, Major H. J.	25	Lighthall, W. D.	14	Smith, H. H.	24
Cunningham, J. G.	23	Local Series	27	Smith, Thomas	22
		Lockwood, Sir Frank	26	Solly, H. S.	16
Dalby, W. E.	28	Louis, H.	28	Spinner, Alice	14
De Vere, Aubrey	15			Sportsman's Library	22
Dunmore, Earl of	13	Macdonald, Lt.-Col. J. R.	20	Streamers, Col. D.	26
Dymond, T. S.	29	Macdonald, Sir John A.	16		
		Marson, C.	16	Tatham, H. F. W.	17
Eddy, Charles	7, 13	Mathews, Margaret H.	26	Taylor, Isaac	29
Edwards, R. W. K.	13	Mathews, C. G.	28	The Times Atlas	30
Ellacombe, H. N.	18, 23	Maud, Constance	18, 26	Thompson, Col. R. F. Meysey	21
Elliot, W. G.	23	Maxwell, Sir Herbert	23	Thornton, Col. T.	22
Essex House Publications	10-12	McNab, Frances	21	Tollemache, Hon. L. A.	16
		McNulty, Edward	21		
Falkner, J. Meade	13	Merivale, J. A.	16	Wallace, Helen	14
Fawcett, E. D.	27	Milner, Viscount	16	Warkworth, Lord	21
Fell, Rev. J.	25	Montrésor, F. F.	14	Watson, E. H. Lacon	7, 14
Fenton, Mrs.	15	Morgan, C. Lloyd	28, 29	Weber, Antoinette	7, 14
Field, Mrs. E. M.	27	Mott, E. S.	16	Weber, T. W.	21
Finsen, N. R.	28	Mudge, G. P.	29	White, C. N.	24
Fisher, J. R.	17	Munroe, Kirk	26	Wilbraham, Estra	14
Fleming, Canon	18			Williams, N. Wynne	14
Ford, Isabella O.	13	Nash, Henry	26	Wilson, Ernest	27
Frederiksen, N. C.	17	National Review	24	Wilson, Theodora	14
Freshfield, Douglas W.	20	Naval and Military Biographies	9	Wingate, Sir F. R.	21, 26
Frye, Alexis	27	Nimrod	22	Wyllie, W. L.	5, 25
				Yale Bicentennial Publica-	29, 30





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